FOREWORD

I gladly comply with the request of my friend and sometime pupil, Dr. Muḥammad Niẓámu'd-Dín, now Professor of Persian in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, that I should write a few lines of introduction to the present work, with which, as Trustee-in-charge, I have had exceptional opportunities of making myself acquainted Yet the pleasure I feel in performing this task is shadowed with regret. I cannot but recall that the work was initiated, directed, and supervised by one who is no longer with us, and that the resolution to publish it was adopted on his recommendation at a meeting of the Trustees held on November 1st, 1924, the last over which he was destined to preside.

While Professor Browne was by no means blind to Awfi's demerits, he appreciated the value and importance both of the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, which his own edition has rendered accessible to students, and the *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát*. Had he been spared to write a Foreword to this volume, he might have enriched it with many observations drawn from his incomparable knowledge of Persian literary history. For me it is easier to call attention, as I am sure he also would have done, to the principal results achieved by the author's learning, industry, and enthusiasm.

First, the anecdotes comprised in a hundred chapters and exceeding two thousand in number have been classified, catalogued, and either provided with descriptive titles or summarised, so that with little trouble readers can obtain a systematic view of every part of the immense and hitherto uncharted Persian "Ocean of Story"

Second, the sources whence 'Awfí derived the materials for his work have been thoroughly explored and, so far as possible, established. This chapter (pp. 33—103), and indeed the whole of Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín's book, displays a critical ability and range of erudition not unworthy of the eminent scholar whom he has taken as his model, Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín. 'Awfí must have had at his command a very large miscellaneous library, including many precious works now lost, and fortunately for us he followed "the good old rule" of appropriating whatever suited his purpose. Judged by the standard of his day, he seems to have been passably honest: here and there he acknowledges a debt, and if he is apt to abridge and popularise his authorities, he does not wilfully garble them.

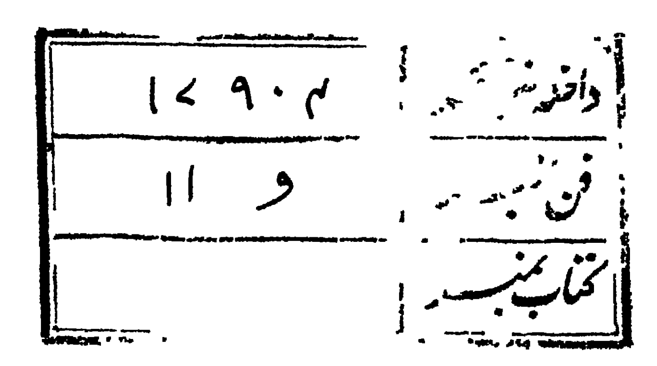
Third, much new light has been thrown upon the details of 'Awfí's life and literary career. From the evidence adduced it appears certain that 'Awfí's Persian translation of Tanúkhí's *Faraj ba'da 'sh-Shidda* preceded that of Ḥusayn ibn As'ad ad-Dihistání, which Ethé supposed to have been the earlier.

Fourth, by personal examination and comparison of more than twenty MSS. and especially of seven belonging to the 14[th] century the way has been paved for a complete edition of the *Jawámi u'l-Ḥikáyát* Apart from the interest of its contents, the text is a monument of classical Persian prose. Great as are the difficulties of publishing it there is reason to hope that they will be overcome.

Subsequent writers made free use of the almost inexhaustible fund of information preserved in the *Jawámi*. As the numerous examples given by Dr. Niẓamu'd-Din are all, I think, cited from historians or collectors of anecdotes who wrote in prose, I should like to add that probably some of the oldest traces of ᶜAwfí's influence are to be found in the *Mathnawi* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí. Of course it does not follow that whenever both relate the same story the latter has borrowed it from the former, but several instances suggest that Jalálu'd-Dín may have dipped into the *Jawámi*ᶜ with profit to himself and his readers. Anecdote 1192 in ᶜAwfí, the original version of the Story of the Arab and his Wife (*Mathnawi*, Bk I, v. 2244 *sqq.*), shows how masterfully the genius of the poet could deal with any material presented to it. The wife, who plays such a conspicuous part in the tale, is not mentioned by ᶜAwfí, she has been created for the sake of the allegory, in which she typifies the flesh at war with the spirit. I must not dwell on this subject and will only remark that Jalálu'd Dín's methods of adaptation are further illustrated by Anecdote 1180 in the *Jawámi*ᶜ, corresponding to the Story of the Gardener and the Three Friends (*Mathnawí*, Bk II, v. 2167 *sqq.*).

Perhaps what has been said is enough to indicate the quality and extent of the author's researches and the value of his work to students of the history and literature of Islam

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.



PREFACE

حامداً ومصلياً

For years the literature of Persia has attracted the attention of European scholars in particular, so much so that a large body of critiques and studies has been produced. But it is worthy of notice that it is more the poetry of Persia than prose that has been the subject of research and appreciation. No doubt scholars like Schefer, Lees, Elliot, Browne, Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Khán, Professors Barthold and Nicholson and others have brought to light many a forgotten standard work and have also edited them, but the quantity of prose that has come within their purview is insignificant as compared with the poetic literature that has been the subject of Oriental scholarship. Not that the Orientalists have any particular intellectual or aesthetic distaste for prose or that material is not ready to hand. In spite of the great scourge of 1265 A.D. which afflicted Persia and its intellectual and literary life and resulted in the destruction of countless invaluable works, there still exists a considerable amount of prose literature that can be profitably utilised by modern scholarship. Indeed it is gratifying to note that an increasing and deserved attention is now being given to it.

One of the monumental works that have survived the Mongol Invasion is that great Collection of Anecdotes, the *Jawámi‘u'l-Ḥikáyát wa Lawámi‘u'r-Riwáyát of Sadídu'd-Dín Muḥammad-‘Awfí*, to which the following pages serve as an analytical *Introduction*. The great importance of this work is indicated in Chapter II; may this *Introduction* to it prove, in even so small a measure, a source of help and assistance to all those who may be engaged in research in the different branches of Islamic history, literature, and science.

I wish I could have published the whole or a part of the original text of ‘Awfí along with this *Introduction*, but it appears that a few more years will have to elapse before I can finally edit it and see it through the press.

Before concluding, it is my chief duty to acknowledge all my obligations. I have dedicated this work to two persons, one, my late revered father Muḥammad Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, who inspired in me from my childhood a love for literature, the other, the late Professor Browne, who at the close of his memorable life, during the four years I worked under him at Cambridge, generously afforded me incalculable guidance in the pursuit of knowledge. As they are no longer living in body, may my humble effort win their spiritual approbation and blessing. These are not my only benefactors.

H. E. H. the Niẓám's government awarded me a special European Scholarship allowance which enabled me to carry on my researches in various Eastern and Western countries. To my Alma Mater, Cambridge, I owe my doctorate. The Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund have shown admirable generosity in publishing my Thesis in their Series. Prof. Nicholson, whom once the late Prof. Browne called the "godfather" to my work, stands foremost among those who have helped me in my studies. From the stage of manuscript to the correction of the last proofs, Dr. Nicholson has bestowed on the work such considerable pains and personal interest that words fail me to give adequate expression to my sense of gratitude towards him. There is another benefactor, Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín, whose name I mention with deep reverence. It was he who when I met him in Paris broadened my vision of historical criticism and widened the horizon of the present work. To Sir Denison Ross, Professors Margoliouth, Barthold, Marquart, Kratchkovski, Thomas, Massignon, Messrs Edwards, Ellis, Storey, Blochet, Krenkow, Wharton, and Prof. Íqbál of Lahore I am indebted in various ways. I cannot end without expressing my sense of obligation to all those authors whose works I have consulted and the various librarians through whom Mss. and works of reference were made available to me. Nor can I forget two of my pupils, ʿAbdu'l-Jalíl and Bindú Madhua, who have so dutifully helped me in the preparation and correction of the proofs of the Index.

I regret that in spite of the efforts of several careful proof-readers, a number of mistakes have crept into the book, so that I have found it necessary to add a list of corrigenda. I hope and trust that any mistakes which may have escaped my notice will be kindly overlooked by indulgent readers.

Maḥbúb Vale, Ḥaydarábád-Dn.
22 Feb. 1929.

M. NIẒÁMU'D-DÍN.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

P. 6, *l.* 15 *Omit* [چون] from the first hemistich; *n.* 5 *read wa* for *wu.*
" 7, " 15 *Add* سنه after شهور.
" 8, " 7 *Read* Majdu'd-Dín; *l.* 14 *read* 1300.
" 12, *n.* 1 " Pt. II; the last footnote should be numbered 9.
" 14, *n.* 9 " *Iranischen.*
" 15, *l.* 21 " مروت *for* روت.
" 16, " 15 " روزی *for* ورزی.
" 19, " 19 " Chingíz; *n.* 4 Lakhnaw.
" 24, " 20 " are *for* is.
" 25, " 8 " Jáḥiẓ; *l.* 10 Dioscorides *for* Democrates.
" 26, " 14 " younger.
" 27, " 36*m* " In *for* Iu.
" 28, " 2 " Khwánd-amír; *l.* 41 -Mutawakkil.
" 31, " 16–17 (973 A.H. = 1565 A.D.) is the date of the death of Ṣáliḥ b. Jalál and not of Sulṭán Bayazíd.
" 32, " 5 *Read* (D. f 71*a*. IV, xvii. 1976) *for* D. f 69*b*, *etc.*
" 36, " 25 " Ra<u>dh</u>iyyu'd-Dín.
" 39, " 6 " Nuʿmán.
" 43, *Omit* –*Turkistán* from the heading of the page.
" 48, *n.* 11 *Read* Miskawayh.
" 49, *l.* 21 " Abú ʿAlí ibn Muqla.
" 50, " 10 " Azhar Mosque *for* Khedivial Library.
" 50, *n.* *iii* " Ms. contains.
" 51, *n.* 9 " پرداخته *for* پرداخته; p. 52, last line of the same note, *read* ثعالبی در *and omit* و *after* برده.
" 56, *l.* 30 " Naṣr b. Aḥmad *for* Aḥmad by Naṣr.
" 63, " 34 " Masʿúd's.
" 70, " 28 " Dhu'n-Nún.
" 71, *n.* 2, *l.* 4 *Omit* his collaborator *before* Mírzá Muḥammad.
" 74, *n.* 1, *l.* 2 *Read* بخوبترین *for* بخوترین; *l.* 4 emendation, در وی مثال را نسخهٔ جمال.
" 76, *n.* 3 " facs. *for* fasc.
" 79, *n.* 1 " and *for* aud.
" 80, *n.* 1, *l.* 4 " Quṭbu'd-Dín.
" 95, *l.* 25 " Qúhistání.
" 99, " 29 " ʿUbaydu'llah.
" 102, *n.* 7 " 1866.
" 112, *n.* 3 *Add* تسع *after* لسنه.

Page	Anec.	No.	Correction
P. 141,	Anec	26	*Read* ᶜAbdu'llah b Muhammad Abu'l-ᶜAbbas as-Saffah
„ 142,	„	50	„ Sayf
„ 143,	„	72	probably ᶜUqba b Abi Muᶜayt.
„ 144,	„	94	*Omit* b. *after* Abu Sulayman.
„ 145,	„	104	*Read* *J. N. U* for *J. N. V.*
„ 146,	„	125–128	„ Dhahhak
„ 148,	„	177	„ the son and the grandson of Bahram.
„ „	„	179	„ Sukhura *for* Sawajir
„ „	„	184	„ Buzurjmihr.
„ 158,	„	500	„ Ismaᶜil b Ahmad *for* Ismaᶜil b Nasr.
„ 162,	„	595	„ Abu Ayyub Sulayman Wahb *and omit* Sulayman b. Wahb *after* his son
„ „	„	606	„ Yahya b. Khalid *for* Yahya b Fadhl.
„ 165,	„	661	„ Ahnaf b. Qays *for* Qays b. Ahnaf
„ „	„	670	„ Qays b. Saᶜd b ᶜUbada.
„ 166,	„	698	„ Sulayman b. Muhammad
„ 166–7,	„	699, 713–717	„ Salih b. Nadhi
„ 167,	„	700, *l.* 1	„ Layth, 713, *l* 3, Kuthayyir
„ 168,	„	729	„ the *for* The.
„ 169,	„	751, *l* 1	Probably the Wazir Abu'l-Hasan ibnu'l-Furat is meant, *l* 2 *read* their *for* his, *l.* 3 Bu Sayqani, probably Wasif b. Ṣuwartigin.
„ 170,	„	755, *l.* 2	*Read* bowl of honey
„ „	„	756, *l.* 3	„ Caliph
„ „	„	768, *l.* 1	„ Baᶜlbakk.
„ 171,	„	781, *l.* 2	„ Kawthar.
„ 173,	„	831	„ ᶜIsam.
„ 174,	„	853, *l* 1	„ Qadhi Sharik *for* Qadhi Shurayh.
„ „	„	861, *l.* 3	*Reading in the text* -Manṣur *for* -Ma'mún.
„ 176,	„	885, *l.* 1	*Read* Muᶜawiya.
„ „	„	887, *l* 3	*Omit* al- *before* Harun, *l.* 4 *add* *N.* to *S. N.*
„ 177,	„	920, *l.* 3	*Read* he *for* be, *l.* 4, *read* Qabil
„ „	„	924, *l.* 2	*Omit* al- *before* Harun.
„ 179,	„	951, *l.* 2	*Read* Ibn Khal. *for* Ibn Kh.
„ 180,	„	987, *l.* 2	„ sent *for* seut.
„ 181,	„	988, *l.* 1	„ ᶜAmr b. Masᶜada's, *l.* 3, army.
„ „	„	997, *l.* 1	„ title *for* titile.
„ „	„	1003, *ll.* 3–4	„ *Átharu'l-Wuzara'*.
„ „	„	1006, *l.* 1	*Omit* the full stop *after* Jannabí
„ 183,	„	1041, *l.* 3	*Read* Bahman *for* Bahrám.
„ 184,	„	1055, *l.* 1	„ bloodsucking *for* blooksucking.
„ 188,	„	1126, *l.* 2	„ *Kimiya-i-Saᶜadat.*
„ 189,	„	1130, 1134	*Omit* al- *before* Harún.
„ „	„	1141	*Read* Buzurjmihr *for* Buzurjimihr.
„ 194,	„	1231	„ *Kitabu Sharafu'n-Nabi.*
„ 203,	„	1395, *l.* 1	„ Bukht-i-Nassar, *l*, 2, Irmiya.
„ 206,	„	1450, *l.* 2	Probably Isfíjáb *for* Sanjáb or Sinjáb. The same correction should be made on p. 158, Anec. 500, and p. 56, *l.* 32.
„ 211,	„	1509, *l.* 1	*Read* Thumáma.
„ „	„	1519,	„ ᶜAbbas b. ᶜAmr-i-Ghanawí *for* ᶜAbbás b. ᶜUmar.

P. 213, Anec 1538, *l.* 1 *Read* Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, the son of the great Wazir.

" 215, " 1559, *l.* 1 " Barmecides and *omit* brothers.

" 217, " 1590, *l.* 1 " Nasibin.

" 225, " 1688, *l.* 3 " friendship

" 246, " 1946, *l.* 1 " Jalandhar.

" 251, " 1989, *l.* 4 " Andulus

" 252, " 2004, *l.* 10 *Add* a comma *after* pseudo-prophet.

" 253, " 2010, *l.* 1 *Read* A Story of the

" 254, " 2032, *l.* 2 " Andulus

" 257, " 2066, *l.* 4 " nature *for* naturo.

" 258, " 2068, *l.* 6 *For* D̲h̲iya'u'd-Din, in *Lubab* Zaynu'd-Din, see p. 10, *l.* 4.

" 259, " 2088, *l.* 1 *Read* euphemistic *for* euphemistie.

" 260, " 2094, *l.* 1 " انّا *for* انّا.

" " " 2097, *l.* 2 " حدی *for* جدی.

" " " 2105, *l.* 1 *Read* Harun envies *for* Harun's envy.

" 267, § 5 " Ziyarids.

" " § 7 " Buwayhids

" 269, *l.* 2 Insert a comma *after* it, and *read* ascertaining.

" " § 8 *Read* Ya'qub-i-Kashshafi *for* Ya'qub Kisa'i

" 270, VII, *l.* 4 " arranged in sections IV, V and VI of

" 273, " بختیارنامه ۸ | 1783 | 25b

" " نوی‌بار .... ۹ | 1935 |

" 276, *Add* 26 as No. of the Conspectus

" 306, col. 2, *l.* 40 *Read* Sawajir (wrongly for Sukhurra)

" 308, col. 2, *l.* 18 " Sukhurra

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add. = Additional (Mark of the Mss. in the British Museum).

Aghani = *Kitab Aghani'l-Kabir* of Abu'l-Faraj-Isbahani, Bulaq, 1868

Ansab = *Kitabu'l-Ansab* of ᶜAbdu'l-Karim b. Muhammad -Samᶜani, (Facsimile, Gibb Memorial Series), Leyden, 1912

Ar. = Arabic

Asia. Muz = Asiatsky Muzei, Petrograd.

A T A = ᶜAttar, (Faridu'd-Din), *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya'*, ed R. A Nicholson, (Persian Historical Text Series), Leyden, 1905, 1907

B. A. B. or *Áthar* = -Biruni, Abu Rayhan, *Átharu'l-Baqiya ᶜan-Quruni'l-Khaliya*, Arabic text ed. E Sachau, Leipzig, 1876—78.

Bib. Geog. Arab = Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, ed M. J de Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum.

Bib Indica = Bibliotheca Indica Series, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

Bib Nat. = Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

Bodl. Lib = Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Br. Mus. = British Museum, London.

Brock = Carl Brockelmann

Brock *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Weimar and Berlin, 1898—1902.

B I F. = Briggs's edition of *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qasim b Hindushah Astarabadi, Bombay, 1831.

B T. G = E. G Browne's abridged translation of *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, Gibb Series, Leyden, 1913.

B. I. H or *Indica* = -Biruni, Abú Rayhan, *Kitabu'l-Hind or Kitab fi Tahqiqi-ma li'l-Hind* etc. Arabic text, ed. E. Sachau, London, Gottingen, 1887.

B. T. M. = Bayhaqi, Abu'l-Fadhl, *Ta'rikh-i-Masᶜúd*, ed. W. N. Lees (Bibliotheca Indica Series) Calcutta, 1862.

Cat. = *Catalogue*.

Cat. Pers. Mss Br. Mus. = *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by Charles Rieu, London, 1879—83.

D. H. H. = -Damiri, *Ḥayatu'l-Ḥayawanu'l-Kubrá* (Arabic Text, Búláq).

D N. D. = Dimashqí, Shamsu'd-Din Abu ᶜAbdi'llah Muhammad b. Abí Ṭálib, *Nukhbatu'd-Dahr fi ᶜAja'ibi'l-Barri wa'l-Bahr*, ed. A. F. M. Mehren, 1866.

D. T. S. = Dawlatshah, *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shuᶜara*, ed. E. G. Browne, (Persian Historical Text Series).

Eclipse = *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* (Supplement to the *Tajáribu'l-Umam* of Miskawayh, Arabic text, ed. D. S Margoliouth).

Ency. Brit. = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XI Edition.

Ency. Islam = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Fihrist = *Kitábu'l-Fihrist* of Ibnu'n-Nadím (Muḥammad b. Isḥáq b. Abí Yaᶜqúb -Warráq, -Baghdádí), ed. G. L. Flugel.

Gh. or *Ghurar* = *Histoire des Rois de Perse*, or *Ghuraru Akhbári Mulúki'l-Fursi wa Siyari-him* of Abú Manṣúr ᶜAbdu'l-Malik Aṯh-Ṯhaᶜálibí, ed. H. Zotenberg, Arabic Text, Paris, 1900.

G. I. P. = *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ed. Geiger and Kuhn.

H. Khal. = Ḥájjí Khalfa, Kátib Chalapí, *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunún*, ed. G. L. Flügel.

H. N. Q. = Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfí, *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*, Persian text, ed. Guy Le Strange (Gibb Series).

H. S. R. = Ibn Hishám, *Síratu Rasúli'llah*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld.

H. T. Q. = Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfí, *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, (Facs. Gibb Series).

H. T. S. = Ḥamza b. Ḥasan -Iṣfaháni, *Ta'ríkh-i-Siní Mulúki'l-Arḏh wa'l-Anbiyá'* (Káviání Press, Berlin, 1340 A. H.).

Ibn Khal. = Ibn Khallikán, *Wafayátu'l-Aᶜyán*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld.

Imp. Publ. Bib. = Imperatorskaya Publichnaya Biblioteka, Petrograd, now Leningrad.

Imp. Sank. Uni. = Imperatorsky Sanktpeterburgsky Universitet Library, Petrograd, now Leningrad.

Ind. Off. = India Office Library, London.

J A S B. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Jawámiᶜ = *Jawámiᶜu'l-Ḥikáyát wa Lawámiᶜu'r-Riwáyát* of -ᶜAwfí. (For Mss. used, see the list on p. 111).

J. K. H. = Jáḥiẓ, *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán*, Cairo, 1325 A. H.

J. N. U. = Jámí, *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* (Lees's Persian Series).

J R A S. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Kámil = *-Kámil fi't-Ta'ríkh* of Ibnu'l-Aṯhír, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 1867—71.

Kh. H. S. = Khwándamír, *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, Bombay, litho. 1857.

L. E. C. = *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Guy Le Strange (Cambridge University Press).

Lit. His. Persia = *Literary History of Persia*, by E. G. Browne.

Lubáb = *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of -ᶜAwfí, ed. Browne, vols. I—II (Persian Historical Text Series).

M. A. T. or *Asrár* = Muḥammad b. -Munawwar, *Asráru't-Tawḥíd fí Maqámát-i-Shaykh Abí Saᶜíd*, ed. Zhukovski.

M. K. B. = Maqdisí, Muṭahhar b. Ṭáhir, *Kitábu'l-Bad'i wa'l-Ta'ríkh* or *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. Cl. Huart, Arabic Text, 4 vols, Paris 1899—1907.

M. M. Dh. = Masᶜúdí (ᶜAlí b. Ḥusayn), *Murúju'dh-Dhahab* or *Les Prairies d'Or*, Arabic Text, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris.

M. R. S. = Mírkhwánd, *Rawḏhatu'ṣ-Ṣafá*, Lucknow Litho., 1874.

M. T. I. = Masᶜúdí (ᶜAlí b. Ḥusayn), *Kitábu'l-Tanbíh-wa'l-Ishráf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bib. Geog. Arab., vol. VIII.

M. T. N. = Minháju'd-Dín (ᶜUthmán b. Siráju'd-Dín-Júzjáṇí), *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, ed. W. N. Lees, Bib. Indica Series.

Nishwár = *Nishwáru'-Muḥáḏhara*, Arabic Text, ed. by Margoliouth.

N. S. N. = Niẓámu'l-Mulk, *Siyásat-náma*, Persian Text, ed. C. Schefer, Paris.

Or. = Oriental (Mark of the Mss. in the British Museum).

Pers. = Persian.

Pet. = Petrograd.

Q. A. B. = Qazwíní (Zakariyyá), *Áthára'l-Bilád*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848.

Q. A. M. = Qazwíní (Zakariyyá), *ᶜAjá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát*, Arabic Text, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847.

Q. K. M. = Ibn Qutayba, *Kitábu'l-Maᶜárif*, Arabic Text, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Litho., Göttingen, 1850.

Q. T. H. = Ibnu'l-Qifṭí (Jamálu'd-Dín), *Ta'ríkhu'l-Ḥukamá'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903.

Q. U. A. = Ibn Qutayba, *ᶜUyúnu'l-Akhbár*, ed. C. Brockelmann.

R. Q. = *Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya* of ᶜAbdu'l-Karím b. Hawázin -Qushayrí, Búláq, 1287 A. H.

S. J. M. = *Sírat Jalálu'd-Dín Mankubirní*, Arabic Text, ed. O. Houdas, Paris, 1891.

S. K. M. = Sijistání (Abú Ḥátim), *Kitábu'l-Mu^cammarín*, ed. Ign. Goldziher, Leyden, 1899.

S. S. N. = *Supplément Siasset Naméh* (Texte Persan) by C. Schefer, Paris, 1897.

Suppl. = Supplement.

Ṭab. or *Ṭabarí* = *Ta'ríkhu 'r-Rusuli-wa'l-Mulúk* of Muḥammad b. Jarír -Ṭabarí, ed. de Goeje, Leyden.

Ṭabarí-Uebersetzung = *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Aus der arabischen Chronik des Ṭabarí übersetzt*, von Th. Nöldeke, Leyden 1879.

T. F. S. or *Faraj* = Tanúkhí, Muḥassin, *Faraj ba^cda'sh-Shidda*, Arabic Text, Cairo 1903, 1904.

T. J. J. = *Táríkh-i-Jahán-gushá-i-Juwayní*, ed. Mírzá Muḥammad Qazwíní, Gibb Series, 1912, 1916.

T. S. N. = *Translation of Siasset Naméh* in French by C. Schefer, Paris, 1893.

Turkistán = *Turkistán at the time of the Mongol Invasion*, Russian edition, W. Barthold.

U. Q. N. = ^cUnṣuru'l-Ma^cálí, *Qábús-náma*, Ṭihrán Litho., 1285 A. H.

U. T. A. = Ibn Abí Uṣaybi^ca, *Ṭabaqátu'l-Aṭibbá'*, Cairo and Königsberg, 1884.

Wüst = H. F. Wüstenfeld.

Wüst. Gesch. = *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, by Wüstenfeld.

Y. I. A. = Yáqút, *Irshádu'l-Aríb ilá Ma^crifati'l-Adíb*, ed. Margoliouth, Gibb Series.

Y. M. B. Yáqút, *Mu^cjamu'l-Buldán*, ed. Wüstenfeld.

Z. D. M. G. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

Z. V. O. = *Zapiski Vostochnavo Otdyeleniya Imperatorskevo Russkavo Arkheologischeskavo Obshchestva.*

مَا اَبْصَرَتْ أَيَّامَ عُمْرِىْ طَرْفِى * قَرْمًا كَرِيْمًا كَالسَدِيْدِ الْعَوْفِى[1]

CHAPTER I.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THE AUTHOR ṢADÍDU'D-DÍN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IMÁM SHARAFU'D-DÍN ABÚ ṬÁHIR YAḤYÁ B. ṬÁHIR B. 'UTHMÁN AL-'AWFÍ, AL-BUKHÁRÍ:-HIS CORRECT *LAQAB*- THE THREE PERIODS OF HIS LIFE - A REVIEW OF HIS WORKS (pp. 3—20).

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THE AUTHOR.

Fresh contribution towards the life of the author

Through the publication of the first part of the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*[1]) of our author, many incidents of his life have been revealed in the masterly introduction of Mírza Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín, and in fact his research is an advance upon that of Nathaniel Bland[2]), Charles Rieu[3]), Prof E G Browne[4]) and Th. W. Juynboll[5]), the present notice is a continuation of the above, and is chiefly based on a closer study of the three works of our author, *viz*, the above-mentioned *Lubab*, the Persian Translation[6]) of at-Tanukhí's *al Faraj ba da'sh-Shidda*, by our author, and the *Jawami u'l-Ḥikáyát*[7]), the present work, which we mean to discuss in this *Introduction*.

Investigation of three problems

In this estimate of the life and works of al-Awfi, only those points are discussed which were doubtful, and required a thorough investigation, *e g*. his real title, the actual period of his life, and his literary career. For the first point documentary evidence is recorded and examined, for the second, an attempt is made to adduce circumstantial evidence, in order to determine the distinct phases into which his life falls, and for the third, a critical estimate of his individual works is affixed.

THE CORRECT *LAQAB* OF THE AUTHOR.

Discussion on his *Laqab*, as Sadídu'd-Dín, not Núru'd-Dín nor Jamálu'd-Dín

Until now, the *laqab* of the author Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí has been known as Núru'd-Dín, which is founded on a wrong basis. Surely al-ʿAwfi was known to his contemporaries as Sadídu'd-Dín, and how it was converted into Núru'd-Dín, one cannot say, probably the earliest authority for this innovation is that of Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfí al-Qazwiní,

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1) The *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, Pt I. ed. Prof. E G. Browne and Mírzá Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahháb-i-Qazwíní in 1906 A D., Pt. II ed. Prof. E G Browne in 1903 A.D. (Persian Historical Texts Series), hereafter referred to as the *Lubáb*.

2) His article "On the Earliest Persian Biography of Poets", JRAS (1848) IX, pp. 112—6.

3) Description of [Add 16,862] Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, pp. 749—51, 1881 A. D.

4) His article on "The Sources of Dawlatsháh", JRAS (1891) XXXI, pp. 45—7 and *Lit. His. Persia*, 1906 A. D. Vol. II, p. 477—9.

5) See his article on "ʿAwfi" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (= *Ency. Islam*), Vol. I, p. 517. Although it appeared in 1911 A. D. and the above edition of the *Lubáb* is referred to in the bibliography, yet he seems to have utilised it but little

6) A Critical Notice of al-ʿAwfi's Persian Translation of at-Tanukhí's *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda*, by the present writer, is incorporated in this work. See below, pp. 14—9.

7) Hereafter referred to as the *Jawámiʿ*, or denoted by letters of the alphabet in case of individual Mss., along with folio numbers, Part (قسم), Chapter (باب), and Anecdote (حکایت) according to the serial numbers used throughout the accompanying *Complete Table of Contents*, *e.g.*, (A. f 215*b*. I. xvii. 984), (D. f 207*a*. III. v. 1588).

but we possess ample proofs to the contrary, and even contemporary documentary evidences regarding his correct *laqab* as Sadídu'd-Dín.

The endorsement of a contemporary

The latter statement is based, firstly, on an extract from a subscription to al-ʿAwfí's Persian Translation of *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* [1]), which runs as follows: — [Ind. Off. 1432] = Ethé's Cat. No. 737 f 456*b*–f 457*a*. 5

« فصل، باز میباید اصغر العبید محمّد [بن] عمر [بن] محمّد سمرقندی که کاتب الفرج بعد الشدّه است... که بنده بحکم
وقایع ایّام و حوادث روزگار ازین حضرت با جلال لازال محفوفة بالعز والاقبال بطرف نهرواله و حدود سواحل
دریای محیط افتاد بموضعی که آن [را] کتابت میخواسد قاضی امام اعزّ اخصّ امجد اشرف سدیـد الملك و الدّین
ظهیر الاسلام و المسلمین واعظ الملوك و السّلاطین مبنی النّظم و النّثر ملك الکلام افضل العالم محمّد العوفی یدیم الله
10 ایّامه روزی چند آنجا سکونت ساخته بود بسبب اختلاط و مباسطت که بنده را با او می‌بود ائتلافی میداشت [2] » آلخ

This endorsement of a contemporary establishes beyond doubt, the title by which al-ʿAwfí was known in his own times, actually his title was Sadídu'd-Dín and not Núru'd-Dín as the later authorities are inclined to believe. There has been a great confusion about it from the earliest down to modern times; Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfí al-Qazwíní being the first author to give an account of him, a very short one, in his *Ta'rikh-i-Guzída* (see facs., p. 811). This history was composed in 730 A.H = 1330 A.D., that is to say a century after the death of al-ʿAwfí, and in it he mentions his title as Núru'd-Dín, in which he has been followed by all the later writers, except H. Khalfa (Vol. II, p. 510 No. 3899) whose knowledge of al-ʿAwfí's works is very inaccurate, and who mentions his title as Jamálu'd-Dín. This error has multiplied, as we find Flügel (Vienna Cat. [Persisch 422] Vol. I, p. 410) and a host of other Orientalists incorrectly describing the authorship and dedication of the *Jawámiʿ*. 15 20

Recognition of it by the author himself

There is no mention in the text of the *Lubáb* or in the oldest and most reliable Mss. of the *Jawámiʿ*, of his title as Núru'd-Dín, except in F. [3]) on f 135*b*, which is an abridged and supplemented codex. On the other hand, the title of al-ʿAwfí as Sadídu'd-Dín is confirmed by another authentic record concerning al-ʿAwfí, *i.e.*, a line preserved in the *Lubáb* (I, p. 158–9) which occurs in a communication addressed by a friend of al-ʿAwfí, called Muhadhdhabu'd-Dín Manṣúr b. ʿAlí al-Asfuzárí [4]) (or Asfizárí), and is acknowledged by the author: 25

« مَاْ اَنْصَرَتْ اَیّامَ عُمْرِی طَرْفِی ، فَرَمَّا کَرِیمًا کَالسَّدِیْدِ اَلعَوْفِی » 30

The words *Sadid* and *ʿAwfi*, which occur in the last hemistich with the definite article, are not merely ornamental, but they form a part of the author's full name; thus the shortened *laqab* and *nisba* are very aptly combined here.

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1) Two Mss. of this work, both containing the second half of the translation were discovered by the present writer in the India Office Library. [Nos. 1432; 720.]

2) See below, p. 16—7 for a complete and emended text of this extract.

3) See below, Ch. IV, No. 6 in the *Chronological Table and Descriptive List* of all the known Mss. of the *Jawámiʿ*, where a fuller description of this Ms. is given.

4) See Yáqút, *Muʿjamu'l-Buldán* ed. Wustenfeld (= *Y.M.B.*) Vol. I, p. 248, also. "*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*", by Mr. Guy Le Strange (= *L.E.C.*) p. 340.

* As recorded in the [Supplement Persan 95] Bib. Nat. Paris.

In support of this argument, the second oldest extant Ms. of the *Jawámi* = **B.** dated 717 A.H. can also be adduced. In the body of the text at the end, on f 289*b* in conclusion the author calls himself Sadíd-i-ʿAwfí, and on the frontispiece f 1*a*. of this Ms. the following words are written in the gilded border decoration.

«كتاب جوامع الحكايات و لوامع الروايات من تصانيف الامام ابن الامام حجّة الاسلام سديد الملّة و الدّين محمّد العوفى رحمه الله رحمة و اسعة» and again on f 202*b*. «بسم الله الرّحمٰن الرّحيم، [ال]قسم الثّالث من كتاب جوامع الحكايات (f 203*a*) من مصنّفات حجّة الاسلام سديد الدّين محمّد العوفى قدّس الله روحه العزيز»

As duly acknowledged in the *Tajáribu's-Salaf*.

The fourth item of evidence in proof of his title as Sadídu'd-Dín is based on the three quotations in the *Tajáribu's-Salaf*[1]), the enlarged Persian translation of the *Kitábu'l-Fakhri*, by Hindúsháh b. Sanjar al-Kírání aṣ-Ṣaḥibí, who composed this work about 724 A.H. = 1324 A.D. In two of these quotations from the *Jawámi* he acknowledges in clear words the title of the author as Sadídu'd-Dín:

«و امام سديدالدّين محمّد بن [محمّد] عوفى ره در كتاب ج[و]امع الحكايات گفته است»

«چنانكه در جوامع الحكايات مرحوم سديدالدّين محمّد عوفى بخارى رحمة الله آورده است» [2])

In point of time Hindúsháh is as much later as Ḥamdu'llah, but the former acknowledges the title of the author, and quotes correctly, whereas the latter in his *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* borrows from the *Jawámiʿ*, yet mentions neither the *laqab* nor the *nisba* of the author. Perhaps the only passage that supports the claims of later writers[3]) who give his title as Núru'd-Dín is this:

«محمّد العوفى لقبه نورالدّين صاحب كتاب ج[و]امع (الكايات و) الحكايات در اوّل دولت مغول در گذشت» [4])

This short and unsatisfactory notice in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* is contrary to the weighty arguments advanced in proof of his correct title as Sadídu'd-Dín; hence Ḥamdu'llah's version deserves very little credit, and henceforward his *laqab* will be regarded as Sadídu'd-Dín.

Determination of the Periods of his life.

Before proceeding to discuss the actual details of our author's life, it is necessary to determine the probable dates of his birth and death, but in this direction only internal and external evidence can be brought forward, and only approximate limits can be fixed, for we are not possessed of conclusive dates.

The earliest limit.

In the year 597 A.H. = 1200/1 A.D., we find him vigorous[5]), coming out of his native town Bukhárá, as an accomplished scholar, and appearing at the court of the Sultan Jalálu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. al-Ḥusayn Ṭamgháj Khán of Samarqand, who reigned 574–597 A.H. = 1178/9–1200/1 A.D., and having literary discussions in the company of teachers and learned men like the Amír ʿAmíd Bahá'u'd-Dín, the tutor to the Prince Nuṣratu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán Kháqán ʿUthmán[6]), whose reign terminated about 609 A.H. =

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1) See Prof. E. G. Browne's article in the Centenary Supplement of the JRAS Oct. (1924) pp. 245—255.

2) See [Browne Or. G. 3] *Tajáribu's-Salaf*, f 34*a* and f 138*b*.

3) See below, pp. 26—32 on the influence of the *Jawámiʿ* on later works.

4) See facs., p. 811. Cf. also *Lubáb*, Persian Introduction p. marked يب, where this quotation occurs with little variations.

5) (A. f 246*a*. I. xxiv. 1137—8) Reminiscences of youth.

6) See *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 44—46, also *Jawámiʿ* (D. f 80*a*. IV. xx. 2008) as to the correct interpretation of the line of the poet Manṣúr-i-Manṭiqí.

1212/3 A.D. and whom he thinks to be 15 years old at that time. It is natural enough that al-ʿAwfí, after his long studies in Bukhárá, should have attained an age of 25–30 years, after which he started on his literary tour, or in search of some position at the courts of the different princes, to which he pays visits in turn, as we shall notice presently; therefore on this hypothesis his birth can be placed between 567 and 572 A.H. = 1171/2–1176/7 A.D.

The latest limit.

Whereas in the *Jawámiʿ* [1]) there are conclusive proofs that our author lived up to 630 A.H., one significant line in the memoria technica of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs suggests a much longer period than what is supposed. Our author has written the accounts of the 36 Caliphs of the ʿAbbásid line, and has brought down the history to the Caliphate of al-Mustanṣir, (623–640 A.H.), from whom his patron-monarch Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish received the nominal insignia of office in 626 A.H., in order to establish friendly relations between Baghdád and Dihlí (**A.** f 118*b*. I. v. **362**) but it appears that this line was added later on and the discrepancies were overlooked.

« مستنصر هم اچون] گذشت مستعصم آمد بجای ، عمـر درازش دهـاد خالق عـرش مکین » [2])

Approximate age 60 years.

The persistence with which thirteen Mss repeat this line makes one believe that the author lived at longest until the accession of al-Mustʿaṣim, the last of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs, and added this line about 640 A.H. = 1242 A.D. Thus the period of his life falls roughly speaking between 567 and 640 A.H. = 1172–1242 A.D., or 572–635 A.H. = 1176/7–1232/3 A.D. which is probably nearer the truth. According to the latter reckoning al-ʿAwfí lived a little less than 60 lunar years.

Divisions of his life-period

This period of about 60 years is marked by three distinct phases of his life:

I. Birth, childhood, and early education *i.e.*, 572–597 A.H. = 1176–1200 A.D. in Transoxiana, mostly in Bukhárá his native town.

II. Itinerary period, *i.e.*, 597–617 A.H. = 1200–1220 A.D. from his first appearance at Samarqand, up to the time of settling at the court of Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha al-Muʿizzí, the ruler of Sind.

III. The period of literary productivity, *i.e.*, 617–630 A.H. = 1220–1232/3 A.D. from the composition of the *Lubáb* until the completion of the *Jawámiʿ*, and even later.

His childhood and early education.

As regards the first period of our author's life very little is known, except from incidental references in the *Lubáb* and the *Jawámiʿ*. The earliest mention of his childhood is made by himself in the *Lubáb* [3]) and in the *Jawámiʿ* (**D.** f 207*a*. III. v. **1588**) (**D.** f 187*b*. II. xxiv. **1524**). As we know from the biography in the *Lubáb* [4]) and from Taqí Awḥadí's *Tadhkira* [5]), the person referred to in the passages cited from the *Jawámiʿ* is al-ʿAwfí's grandfather Sharafu'd-Dín Abú Ṭáhir Yaḥya b. Ṭáhir b. ʿUthmán al-ʿAwfí, but unfortunately the date of his death is not known; otherwise we could

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1) (**D.** f 260. III. xviii. 1720), see below, p. 20; allusion to the rebellion of Balká in 628 A.H. as an event of the past.

2) *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** f 102*a* I. v. 281) Variations in later Mss. but most of the old Mss. agree in this reading, except that the word مستعصم is confused with معتصم, but in **B.** f 61*b* and **G.** f 65*a* مستعصم is clearly written.

3) Pt. II, p. 163, *ll.* 13—17, «امام شرف الدّين مسعودى ..... اگر چه بنده كودك خرد و او بپر بزرگ بود»

4) Pt. I, pp. 178—9.

5) Called the *ʿUrfát wu Ghurfát-i-ʿÁshiqín*, see [Ind. Off. 3654] f 60*b*, and JRAS. (1848) IX, p 115.

have had a definite point to start from. At any rate our author was still a child, as we find him later acquiring the rudiments of knowledge under great teachers like Ruknu'd-Dín[1]) Mas'úd Imamzádah of Bukhárá, in a school at Dar-i-Farijak[2]) (**A.** f215 *b.* I, xvii, 984), and again we find him reading the *Fá'iq* of az-Zamakhsharí, under another eminent doctor of law and a notable of the Ál-i-Burhán called Táju'd-Dín[3]) 'Umar b. Mas'úd, a contemporary of Qilij Ṭamghaj Ibráhím and his son referred to above, and later we find him also reading under Quṭbu'd-Dín[4]) as-Sarakhsí the calligrapher, the transcriber of the *Lughát-i-Azhari*, and the Keeper of the Sarpul Bázárcha Library of Bukhárá, and giving a faint recollection of Shamsu'd-Dín[5]) Muḥammad ad-Daqá'iqí al-Marwazí, and of Sharafu'd-Dín[6]) b. Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'údí, and of his early association with a contemporary[7]) when they had both committed to memory the *Jámi'u's-Ṣaghír* of the Qádhí Fakhru'd-Dín Ján; and probably the last reference to his educational period occurs in the biography of the poet Ashrafí-i-Samarqandí, about whom he writes the following:

«و در شهور سبع و تسعين و خمس مائه اورا در بخارا در مدرسهٔ سيبه ديه آمد و ار وى اين رباعى استماع افتاد»[8] آلخ

Itinerary period.

The instances cited above are quite different from the nature of those that will follow in the real period of his literary tour, as all of them conform to the requirement of a beginner, and to the foundation of his future literary greatness, which he laid in his native town, just before starting on his tour about 597 A. H. The literary tour of our author extends over a period of 20 years, 1200–1220 A. D. The first part of the *Lubáb* is in fact, from the autobiographic point of view, a faithful record of his activities[9]) in Khurásán, and as Prof. Browne remarks[10]), "His *Lubáb* may fairly be regarded as the *Kitábu'l-Aghání* of Persia .... It contains notices of 122 royal and noble personages who occasionally condescended to write verse, and of about 163 poets by profession, of whom thirty belong to the Ṭáhirí, Ṣaffárí, and Sámání periods; twenty-nine to the Ghaznaví period; and fifty to the Saljúq period; while some fifty-four are, roughly speaking, the author's contemporaries". The information for the above he collected during this period of his life. A rough outline of his tour is sketched below, in order to show the various places and eminent persons he visited. Like most of the learned men of his day our author was also seeking during his journeys a suitable position for himself, as we shall notice presently.

Samarqand

At first he tries the court of the Ílak Kháns of Samarqand, where he held for sometime an honorary secretaryship[11]) and made important literary acquaintances of the circle of the court, like the Wazír of Samarqand Niẓámu'l-Mulk Ṣadru'd-Dín[12])

1) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 181—182; 339. *T.J.J.* Pt. I, p. 81. Killed in 617 A.H. by the Mongols in the sack of Bukhárá.

2) A. f215*b* در مدرسهٔ در مارجك C. f59*b* در مدرسه در مارخك; see, *Y.M.B.* Vol. III, p. 834; also *Ta'ríkh-i-Bukhárá*, ed. C. Schefer p. 93 *l.* 21 مدرسهٔ مارجك. Once burnt in 325 A. H.

3) *Lubáb*. Pt. I, p. 170, *ll.* 9—10

4) *Ibid.* Pt. I, pp. 210—1; 338; 346.

5) *Ibid.* pt. I, p. 212, *ll.* 7—10.

6) *Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 163, *ll.* 13—17, also above p. 6 n. 3.

7) *Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 423, *ll.* 19—20; the name of this person is not found as the text is marred by a short lacuna.

8) *Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 391, *ll.* 21—22.

9) *Ibid.* Pt. I, p. 162. *ll* 19—22.

10) JRAS. (1899) XXXI, p. 46—47.

11) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 45, *ll.* 20—21.

12) *Ibid.* Pt. I, p. 205—6; 346.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, the four Shamsu'd-Díns, the poets of the same *laqab*, and other eminent scholars, *viz*, Sharafu'd-Dín[1]) Ḥusám Muḥammad b. ʿAbí Bakr an-Nasafí, a contemporary of the poets Kháqání and ʿUmar Núqání, from whom he obtains permission for relating Traditions; and Ṣadru'd-Dín ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Khurramábádí[2]), a panegyrist of the Sultan ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh (reigned 596-617 A.H. = 1199-1220 A.D) Although his maternal uncle Sharafu'z-Zamán Maju'd-Dín[3]) Muḥammad b. ʿAdnán as-Surkhakatí and his cousin were serving in that court as state physicians, and our author seemed to be satisfied with the agreeable company of the Prince, yet we find that his stay here was not prolonged, and once more he was setting out on his travels 10

In Khwárazm

After cultivating important acquaintances in Máwará'u'n-Nahr our author goes to Khwárazm. There is one important record of his stay in Khwárazm, which is found among the additional anecdotes, in the oldest Ms. of the *Jawámiʿ* (dated 699 A. H. = 1330 A.D.), which runs as follows. (A. f 185*b*. I. xiii. 728)

15 «چنین گوید(a) (که)(b) مؤلّف کتاب که در ان سال [که](c) این دعا گوی بخوارزم بود و سلطان خوارزمشاه
بخراسان بود و در شهر خوارزم هیچ لشکر نبود خداوند جهان که مادر سلطان خوارزمشاه بود الاغی بخراسان فرستاد
تا سلطان را از رسیدن لشکر غزنین اعلام دهد و آنگاه در شهر ندا کردند که فرمان چنان است که هیچ
کس دستار نپوشد که جمله کلاه سیاه بر سر نهد و سلاح در پوشد و هر چه در خوارزم سلاح بود خلق جمله
بپوشیدند و خودها ساخته بود از کاغذ و تیر(d) در روی او (؟) کشیده و بر در شهر لشکرگاهی کردند که سر فلك
20 دوراس(e) (sic) میگشت و عطارد از حساب آن عاجز می آمد و سلطان شهید [معز الدنیا و الدین محمد](f) انار الله
برهانه را خبر داده بودند که خوارزمشاه در شهر نیست و لشکر او بمرو ونیشاپور ست چون رسول سلطان بخوارزم
رسید لشکری دید عظیم آراسته و لشکرگاهی بغایت انبوه و سلاح و اسب بسیار چون رسول برسید بعد از هفت
روز سلطان خوارزمشاه برسید و با وی سواری صد بیش نبود و بر عقب او لشکر از طرف ربك (؟) بر می آمد
و بدین حیلت که مخدومهٔ جهان کرد شهر خوارزم از صولت سلطان شهید مصون(g) ماند و الله اعلم.»

His stay coincides with this event.

In the above passage the date is not given, but from the historical events related 25 in the preceding and succeeding anecdotes it can be established with certainty by references to other sources. According to the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahángushá'-i-Juwayní*[4]), the severest tension between the Sultan Muʿizzu'd-Dín Muḥammad (also called Shihábu'd-Dín) Ghúrí, (d. 602 A.H. = 1206 A.D.) and the Sultan ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh dates back to 598 A H. = 1201/2 A.D., and the latest phase of this struggle, 30 when the Ghúrid Sultan was completely broken down, and gave up all hopes of Khwárazm and re-organised his defeated forces, and turned his thought finally towards India, occurs in 602 A. H., just before his death; and in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Firishta*[5]) reference is made to one of the attacks on Khwárazm, in the following manner:

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1) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 164—5, 168.
2) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 179—180.
3) *Ibid*, Pt. I, p. 201. Pt. II, pp. 341—344.
4) ed. Mírzá Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Wahháb of Qazwín (= *T.J.J.*) Pt. II, p 54, *l.* 15, p. 58, *ll.* 15—20.
5) ed J. Briggs = (*B.T.F.*) Vol. I, p. 103, cf. *Kámil*, Vol. XII, pp. 114, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122.

(*a*) A. کوید. (*b*) Superfluous. (*c*) Added. (*d*, *e*) Unintelligible. (*f*) Added from the context of the previous anecdote. (*g*) A. مصور. Cf. text in *Turkistán*, Vol. I, p. 88, *ll.* 1—9.

«و درین ایام خبر شهادت محمّد حربك [حرنك] حاکم مرو شنیده به استعداد تمام در سنه ۶۰۰ ستمأیه تسخیر خوارزم رفت، خوارزمشاه تاب مقاومت نیاورده بخوارزم درآمد چون سلطان بخوارزم رسید در کنار آبی که از جیحون بطرف شرقی خوارزم خلیجی کنده است فرود آمد و چند روز جنگها واقع شده چندی از امراء غور بشهادت رسیدند» الخ. [Add 18,875 Br Mus.] ff 83 = [Add. 6572 Br. Mus.] f 60*a*.

599–600 A H is the year of his stay

The attack of the Ghurid Sultan and the clever defence of the city of Khwárazm referred to in the anecdote must have happened before 600 A. H. From this it can be concluded that al-ʿAwfí was in Khwarazm at about this time, as it is in conformity with the stages of his tour shown above — that is to say, after leaving Samarqand he comes back to Bukhárá and goes to Khwarazm — and also because it corroborates the coming events, as he is seen in Shahr-i-Naw and Nasa in 600 A. H. Besides this, we find him attending some of the meetings of the famous disciple of Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá, the Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín[1]) Sharaf ibnu'l-Muayyad al-Baghdadí (of Khwarazm), (whose death is placed in 606; 607, 613, 616, A. H.), and narrating the personal relations of the Shaykh with Shihábu'd-Dín Abu Sad b. Umar al-Khiwaqí, the Wakíl of the Sultan ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwarazmsháh, on his own authority in the *Jawámiʿ* (D. f 4*b*. IV. i. 1792) «جامع[a] این حکایات محمّد عوفی می گوید وقتی شهاب الدّین خیوقی که وکیل خاص در سلطان سکندر بود و بخدمت شیخ الشیوخ مجدالدّین بغدادی نامه نوشت و درخواست کرد که بهمّت عالی مدد باید فرمود» الخ), and again in the same town he gets in touch with the Shaykhu'l-Islám Alá'u'd-Dín[2]) al-Ḥárithí from whom he obtains permission for relating Traditions. In spite of the fact that there is a notice of the Sultan Muḥammad[3]) Khwarazmsháh and also of Bahá'u'd-Dín[4]) Muḥammad ibnu'l-Muayyad al-Baghdadí in the *Lubáb*, we cannot say with certainty that our author was given a chance to appear at the court.

At Shahr-i-Naw, while on his way to Khurásan.

At any rate we find him in Shahr-i-Naw, the seat of the prince Nuṣratu'd-Dín[5]) Kabúd Jáma (put to death by Khwárazmshah *circa* 600 A. H.) and trying to get an audience of the said prince, and complaining of the losses he had incurred in his travels (probably robbed by the Ghuzz while returning from Khwárazm). The prince being busy with his enjoyments sends word that he has no time for listening to sermons, and at his request[6]) supplies him with a horse and assures him of reward in the future. Our author seems to have been disappointed in this journey, and appears in Khurásán for the first time at Nasá[7]) in 600 A. H. From this point actually begins his tour throughout this province. Here, we find him meeting Muḥammad[8]) b. Badíʿ an-Nasawí, Majdu'd-Dín[9]) Muḥammad al-Páyizí, the panegyrist of the Sultan Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, who was preparing a *Sháhinshāhnáma* of the Khwárazmsháhs when ʿal-Awfí met him in Nasá, and Ẓahíru'd-Dín[10]) an-Nasawí called Walí, all famous poets of his day.

In Níshápur district.

At a time when Níshápúr was flourishing under the rule of the Sultan ʿAlá'u'd-

1) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 230; 349—50.
2) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 209, *ll.* 13—5.
3) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 42—4.
4) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 139—42, 328 (alive in 588 A. H.)
5) *Ibid*, Pt. I, pp 51—2.
6) «هرچند که بر بساط شطرنج هنر * امروز شهم پیاده [میاید] رفت»
7) *Lubáb*, Pt. II, p. 345, *ll.* 9—10.
8) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 240 *ll.* 4—10.
9) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 345, *ll.* 8—11.
10) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 243, *ll.* 11—12.
a) C.D.K.M. جوامع.

Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, and was celebrated for the great literary men that rose from its soil, our author is seen in this galaxy. In 603 A.H., according to his own statement in the *Jawámiʿ* (D. f 93*b*. IV. xxiv. 2068) he saw in Khúján (Khabúshán) at the school of Zaynu'd-Dín[1]) Ṣáʿid, an ostrich which was with the Wakíl of Khwárazmsháh. At about the same time he goes to Isfaráín, where he teaches the son of the famous secretary of the Sultan Khwárazmsháh, ʿImádu'd-Dín[2]) Muayyad b. Aḥmad al-Isfaráíní. Then, he comes down to the city itself, and from several references to Níshápúr, it appears that al-Awfí stayed here for a considerable period, and probably it was the culminating point of his literary friendships. The different persons he saw at Níshápúr were either eminent state-officials or teachers or poets, as follows.

His contemporaries in Níshápur.

Occasionally, as he says, he paid visits to Ṣadru'd-Dín[3]) an-Níshápúrí, the Ṣáḥib-i-Díwán-i-Istífá of the Sultan Khwárazmsháh, the history of whose dynasty he had composed; and again in the same place, he studies the important treatise on the art of writing called the *Ruqyatu'l-Qalam*[4]) (?), the composition of the secretary of the Sultan Sanjar, Muntajibu'd-Dín Badíʿ Atábek al-Juwayní; and enters into conversation with the eminent Jamálu'd-Dín[5]) ʿAlí Láhúrí; the secretary of Malik Muayyad, about the famous Ghúrid secretary Farídu'd-Dín (also Shamsu'd-Dín) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Káfí. At the same time he was preaching and trying his poetical skill in Arabic and Persian, as he referrs to his own sermons and to Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad as-Sarakhsí, against whose verses he matched his own in Níshápúr[6]). Amongst others with whom he was intimate, were the humourist Abu'l-Fadhl ʿUthmán[7]) b. Aḥmad al-Harawí, nicknamed Kargas; and Abú ʿAlí[8]) b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazí, the panegyrist of Khwárazmsháh; and the Amír Qiwámí[9]) al-Khwáfí; and lastly Niẓámu'd-Dín[10]) al-Jámí al-Kátib, who acquired prominence later at the court of Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. Unfortunately he does not say anything about his relations with Farídu'd-Dín[11]) ʿAṭṭár, who was also a contemporary and a native of Níshápúr.

On his way to Sijistan.

There is no record of his stay in Ṭús and other important cities of the Níshápúr district, but it is quite likely that our author might have visited them during his rambles in Khurásán. However, we see him in Herát a little later, probably on his way to Sijistán, enjoying the company of Fakhru'd-Dín[12]) al-Khaṭṭáṭ al-Harawí, and of Badru'd-Dín[13]) b. Núru'd-Dín al-Harawí, who recounts his own relations with ʿAlá'u'l-Mulk[14]) Dhiyá'u'd-Dín Abú Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Jámají, the Wazír of the Sultan Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, whom al-ʿAwfí himself sees later in Asfizár, and whose generosity and piety he records in his biography[15]). Only from this notice we can infer the approximate date of his stay in Sijistán. In one of the conversations with the Wazír, it is revealed that the Wazír had a desire to see the learned people of Khurásán and

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1) Cf. *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 144.

2) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 147.

3) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 142; 143.

4) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 78; also *T.J.J.*, Pt. I, ز—ر. Pt. II, p. 9.

5) *Ibid.*. Pt. I, p. 121.

6) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 218—9; (A. f 94*a*, 96*b*. I. v. 232, 246).

7) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 346.

8) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 339—40.

9) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 357.

10) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 149; 151, also *T.J.J.* Pt. II, p. 81.

11) *Lubáb*, Pt. II, p 337. This biography, as most others, is devoid of biographical information, which al-ʿAwfí could have easily supplied, at least in the case of ʿAṭṭár.

12) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 246.

13) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 250.

14) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 250.

15) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 111—3.

Transoxiana, which he fulfilled on the occasion of his journey to Khaṭá (Cathay). Now this incident is connected with the battle in Ṭiraz between Táyangu, the chief of the Qará Khaṭá, and the Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshah, which happened according to the *Jahángushá* [1]) and other authorities in the year 607 A.H. Therefore our author must have met the Wazír after that date. Sijistán at that time was under the rule of Malik Táju'd-Dín [2]) Ḥarb, and the crown-prince was Yamínu'd-Dín Bahrámsháh who succeeded to his father's throne in 612 A.H. Thus our author's stay in Sijistán lies between these two dates, and this agrees with the other records of his tour in that country.

His literary associations in Sijistán.

The important acquaintances he makes at Asfizár are those of the above-mentioned Wazír, and his son [3]), whose glorious deeds he was destined to record in later times. Besides collecting a few verses of the poet Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Humám from the Imám Sharafu'd-Dín [4]) ʿAnbarí, in Asfizár, he makes a very important friendship with Muhadhdhabu'd-Dín [5]) Manṣúr b. ʿAlí al-Asfizárí, who has probably immortalised the name of al-ʿAwfí in the line cited below [6]). Our author now comes down to Farah, while going to the capital of Sijistán, now called Zarnaj, and meets Sharafu'd-Dín [7]) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faráhi. In the seat of the government of Sijistán, he meets the egoist Shamsu'd-Dín [8]) Muḥammad b. Naṣír as-Sijzí, and hears the famous remark about the three wonders of Sijistán, and then comes into close touch with the Jásúsu'l-Aflák Farídu'd-Dín [9]) ʿAlí al-Munajjim as-Sanjarí (Sijzí) who was then living a secluded life, and gives a short account of his brother Naṣír Shaʿrání, the Wazír of the country of Nímrúz; and also hears the verses of Shamsu'd-Dín [10]) Mubárakshâh ibnu'l-Aʿazz as-Sanjarí (Sijzí) [11]), the panegyrist of the rulers of Sijistán.

End of his *wanderjahre* and return to Bukhárá.

After this we do not know much about the wanderings of our author, although there is a vague reference [12]) to Bámiyán, which does not necessarily indicate that our author had been there. Here, probably, ends the tour, and by this time our author, if not the acknowledged preacher, poet, and scholar of his day, is reckoned amongst the most eminent of his contemporaries. There is one significant reference to his return from Marw [13]), by way of Ámway (Ámúl), which suggests the return of our author after his *wanderjahre* to his native town, as the references that follow throw a good deal of light on a period which is quite different to the earlier one at Bukhárá. Firstly, he meets his old teacher now the Ṣadru'sh-Sharíʿa of Bukhárá Burhánu'l-Islám Táju'd-Dín ʿUmar b. Masʿúd (mentioned previously), and attempts a reconciliation [14]) between him and his son, Niẓámu'd-Dín [15]) Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b.

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1) *T.J.J.*, Pt. II, p. 77 and *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 321—2; also Pers. Int. footnote (٤) to ز and ع.

2) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 49—50.

3) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 113—117; also below, p. 13, *ll.* 35—8.

4) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 154—5.

5) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 158—9.

6) ما أبصرت آثام عمري طرفي • قرماكرينها كالسديد العوفي (see above, p. 4, *ll.* 25—33).

7) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 259.

8) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 251. «شعر وأمير و شعر ابن نصر»

9) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 347.

10) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 348.

11) Sanjarí and Sijzí are always liable to be confused on account of clerical errors; here Sijzí seems more proper, on account of the association of these persons with Sijistán.

12) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 232—3.

13) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 176.

14) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 177.

15) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 175—178.

Masʿúd, for whose unbecoming conduct towards his own parents al-ʿAwfí pleads on his behalf; secondly his way of alluding to Saʿdu'd-Dín [1]) Masʿúd Dawlatyár, a client of the above-mentioned Táju'd-Dín, and his taking part with him in social intercourse with that personage, shows that our author had acquired a considerable importance by this time. Another proof of this is the congratulations sent to him by an eminent 5 poet, the Ḥakím Majdu'd-Dín [2]) Fahímí al-Bukhárí, at the approach of the month of Ramadhán. Similarly, when the Muftí of Nakhshab (Nasaf) Shamsu'd-Dín [3]) Dáʿí al-Ḥusayní an-Nasafí comes to Bukhárá, he says that he approached his holiness, and heard his verses, but he does not say whether he learnt anything from him, though it is always the habit of our author to acknowledge the benefits he derived from his seniors. 10

Unrest in Khurásán takes him to India

We are in the dark as to when our author left Bukhárá for good, and what were the actual circumstances that drove him from Khurásán: but as we know from his past career, he was always trying to get a footing in some court or other, for he had tried Samarqand, Khwárazm, Jurján (Kabúd Jáma), and Sijístán at one time or other, and probably could not find suitable prospects for himself. Apart from 15 this, if we look into the history [4]) of Khúrásán, about 615 A.H. we find that the empire of the Sultan Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh had outgrown its limits, the clouds were gathering, and the impending storm of the Mongols was about to burst, and most of the scholars and poets enticed by the recently established fame of the Indian princes were finding their way to that country [5]); naturally, our author was also attracted 20 by it. At about this time we find him in Ghazna — shorn of its glory and no longer the pride of either the Ghaznawids or the Ghúrids — probably on his way to India, where he meets the poet Dhiyá'u'd-Dín [6]) Maḥmú'd al-Kábulí, a younger contemporary of his; and then crossing the Indus [7]), is seen for the first time in Lahore [8]), associating as usual with poets and contemporaries [9]) of more or less equal merit, 25 who were then flourishing in that region. A little later we see him in Sind, then the dependency of Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, which extended over a part of the modern Punjáb, and also included Sind and Gujrát. This is the landmark of his journey, and the end of the second period of his life; by this time he is settled at the court of the ruler of Sind, under the patronage of the Wazír ʿAynu'l-Mulk Fakhru'd-Dín al-Ḥusayn 30 b. Sharafu'l-Mulk Radhíyyu'd-Dín Abú Bakr al-Ashʿarí, and has begun his *Lubáb* (about 617 A.H.)

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1) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 387—8. 2) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 386. 3) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 182–3.

4) See the *Sírat-i-Jalálu'd-Dín Mankubirni*, ed. O. Houdas, Arabic Text (= *S.J.M.*) p. 21, 35—7; also, Ibnu'l-Athír, *Kámil*, under the year 615 A.H.

5) See *Taju'l-Ma'athir* [Add. 7623. Br. Mus.] f 11*a*. The author known as Ḥasan Niẓámí called Táju'd-Dín or (Ṣadru'd-Dín) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan an-Niẓámí, a native of Níshápúr, expresses his regret at the bad condition of Khurásán, on account of which he had to come to India. He dedicated this work to Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak, and brought down the history to 614 A.H. giving an account of the wars of Iltutmish also. See *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* ed. W. N. Lees (= *M.T.N.*) p. 143—4 in proof of this statement, Minháj-i-Siráj being one of those who came to India in 624 A.H. and attached himself to the court of Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, like our author.

6) See *Lubáb*, Pt. II p. 416.

7) The anecdote about his first experience of a compass or a magnetic needle in the *Jawámiʿ* (D. f 78*b*, IV, xx, 1997) refers to a voyage.

8) See *Lubáb*, Pt. II, p. 411. 9) *Ibid*, Pt. I, p. 284—285.

Situation in India after 607 A.H.

Before discussing the third period, which is that of al-ʿAwfí's literary productivity, it is necessary to say a few words about the political relations of India with Ghur, Ghazna, Khurásán and Khwárazm. According to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, an important source for Indian affairs at this period, we find that, after the death of Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak, in 607 A.H., the Turkish generals, who had once served under the Ghúrid Sultans Ghiyáthu'd-Dín (d. 599 A.H.) and Muʿizzu'd-Dín Muḥammad (d. 602 A.H.) and even under Aybak, assumed independence and set up states of their own. Thus Naṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha ruled in Sind; Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish became the virtual successor at Dihlí; the province of Lakhnawtí (in Bengal) was held by the Khalajís; Lawhúr (or Lahore) was a bone of contention amongst Táju'd-Dín Yildiz, (who governed Ghazna), Iltutmish and Qabácha; and the kingdom of Ghúr was rent asunder by the strife of ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Atsiz and ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad, till the Sultan Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh wiped it out in 612 A.H.

Fate of the last two Khwarazmshahs.

According to Ibnu'l-Athír [1]) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasawí [2]), at this stage India comes in contact with the Mongols who burst on Khwárazmsháh, drove his family out of Khwárazm in 616 A.H., and chased him in Khurásán, Mázandarán, and from place to place, till at last he took refuge in an island, called Ḥamáma, off the shore of the Caspian Sea and died there in 617 A.H. His gallant son, Jalálu'd-Dín Mankubirní, unable to stem the tide of Chingíz's army, moved towards the south, and in 618 A.H., losing the battle fought on the upper bank of the Indus, crossed the Indus on horseback, seeking protection from the murderous foe, once at the hands of Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha at Multán and then again of Iltutmish at Dihlí; both of them in turn afraid of the invasion of the Mongols, which was hanging over their heads, deserted the unfortunate monarch in the hour of his dire need. But Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha could not escape the onset of the Mongols, as we find him besieged in Multán in 621 A.H. The rivalry of Iltutmish and Qabácha led to the overthrow of the latter and the supremacy of the former in 625 A.H. This period of the life of our author is intimately connected with the last event and he himself has portrayed it graphically in his Preface to the *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** ff 20–21). He also alludes once in the *Lubáb* (I, p. 182) and again in the *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** f 118*a*. = **C.** f 161*a* = **E.** f 127*b*. I. v. 360) to the destruction of Khurásán and other countries in the Caliphate of an-Náṣir in these words:

«و دران وقت که کفّار تتار اباد الله خضراءهم هجوی کردند و آن جماعت که مقدمهٔ یأجوج و مأجوج اند
روی بتخریب بلاد اسلام نهادند و تمامت بلاد ماوراءالنهر و خراسان و جبال و عراق و غزنین و اذربیجان و ارّان
از آسیب صولت ایشان خراب شد حضرت جلّت مدینة السّلام از ضرر ایشان مصون ماند و آن جمله از میامن
ایّام مبارك امیر المؤمنین ناصر بود و وفات او شب یکشنبه بود سلخ ماه رمضان سنه اثنین و عشرین و ستّمأیه»

The beginning of the period of his literary productivity.

The year 617 A.H. = 1220/1 A.D. is rather important in the life of our author, as we find him taking actual part in the political events of the day, and preaching from the pulpit the glorious adventures of the statesman Majdu'l-Mulk [3]) Bahá'u'd-Dín ʿAlí b. Aḥmad al-Jámají, once the Wazír of Táju'd-Dín Yildiz in 612 A.H., who now

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1) *Kámil*, Vol. XII, p. 333 under the year 617 A.H.

2) *S.J.M.* pp. 38, 43, 45—8, 55, 83—94 also below, p. 17, *ll.* 24—9.

3) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 115.

after breaking with Iltutmish, had become a staunch supporter of Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, the ruler of Sind. As has been said previously, the period of his literary activity also begins in this year, so we shall trace the progress of his works in succession. There are three extant works of the author and the fourth[1]) is probably lost. The first is the Biography of the Poets, called the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, for which he collected ample material during his travels. Owing to various unfortunate accidents, much of this material, as he himself states on two different occasions[2]), was destroyed, and in the short period at his disposal he was not able to enrich the *Lubáb* with biographical details of the various personalities mentioned in the notices, so that this anthology contains no more than a summary of what he could recollect. And again it appears from the concluding remarks in the *Lubáb* that his attachment to the court of Qabácha was not much earlier than this date, and that the *Lubáb* was completed just afterwards.

Chief Judge of Kanbáyat, where he translates the Faraj.

Soon after this, he was sent as the Chief Judge, at the behest of Qabácha, to the recently acquired country of Gujrát, or Nahrwála as it was then called. A contemporary note, suffixed to the Persian Translation[3]) of at-Tanúkhí's *al-Faraj* gives a glimpse of our author in Kanbáyat. From the original Preface to this work, from this Subscription, and from the author's own reminiscences of Kanbáyat in the *Jawámi*ᶜ [4]) and a clear statement in the same[5]), we can gather the history of this Translation[6]), which was composed about 620 A. H. This work, like the first one, was written for Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, and in fact it was a preparation for the grand Collection of Anecdotes which was to follow.

A CRITICAL NOTICE OF AL-ᶜAWFÍ'S PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF AT-TANÚKHÍ'S *AL-FARAJ BAᶜDA'SH-SHIDDA* COMPOSED ABOUT 620 A. H. = 1223 A. D.

al-ᶜAwfí's Persian version hitherto undiscovered.

Another work of Muḥammad al-ᶜAwfí, which is very little known and incorrectly described is the Persian Translation mentioned above. Until now only one translation by Ḥusayn b. Asᶜad b. Ḥusayn ad-Dihistání al-Muayyadí is known as the earliest Persian version of the *Faraj*. Charles Rieu[7]) has given a full account of this work, but he has neither fixed the date of composition nor mentioned anything about al-ᶜAwfí's efforts in this connection. Ethé[8]), in the description of Nos. 733, 737, 738 of his Catalogue, has left the authorship of the last two Mss. undecided, and has conjectured that Ḥusayn b. Asᶜad's Translation is of a prior date. And again in his article in the *Grundriss*[9]), on "Die Erzahlende und poetische Prosa", he mentions a translation of

[1]) كتاب مداع السلطان mentioned in the *Jawámi*ᶜ (A. f160b. I. xii. *Int.* 613), probably a Collection of all the Panegyrics composed by the author on various occasions in praise of Iltutmish and his patron-wazír.

[2]) *Lubáb*, Pt. II, pp. 383; 418. [3]) [Ind. Off. 1432] ff 456b—459a.

[4]) (A. f119b. I. vi. 366.); (D. f81b. IV. xxi. 2011.) [5]) (D. f22a. IV. vii. *Int.* 1848.)

[6]) See two separate notices on at-Tanúkhi's *al-Faraj báᶜda'sh-Shidda*, (= *T. F. S.*) under the *Conspectus of the Sources* of the *Jawámi*ᶜ, Ch. III, Nos. 31, 32, for the utilisation of the *Faraj*.

[7]) See Cat. Per. Mss. Br. Mus. [Add. 7673] Vol. II, pp. 751—2.

[8]) The India Office Mss. Nos. 1664, 1432, 720, resp., Columns 502—5.

[9]) *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (= *G.I.P.*) II, p. 330.

the *Faraj* by al-ʿAwfí, but does not add much to our information about this work. The learned Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín, while discussing this translation of al-ʿAwfí says[1], "And it is not known, whether the translation of the *Kitábu'l-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* by Ḥusayn b Asʿad ibnu'l-Ḥusayn, which we have in our hands nowadays, was prior or subsequent to that by the author (al-Awfí), since it is not known at what period the translator (Ḥusayn) lived". The existence of the two Mss of the latter half of al-ʿAwfí's Translation in the India Office Library was not known to him, hence he was unable to determine the actual dates of these two Translations by al-ʿAwfí and Ḥusayn respectively.

The Scope of the present notice

Therefore, the object of this notice is to determine the exact dates of both the translations, and to establish the priority of al-ʿAwfí's to that of Ḥusayn's Version, and to elucidate a few points about the life of al-Awfí, which are mentioned in the original Preface to this work, and in a Subscription appended to al-ʿAwfí's Persian Translation[2]) of *al-Faraj* by one of his contemporaries, and in the *Jawámiʿ* itself.

The two statements of al-ʿAwfí about his own Translation

Let us first of all consider what al-ʿAwfí himself has to say about this translation in his own Preface [Ind. Off. 1432. f 1*b*–2*a*.] = [Ind. Off. 720. f 1*b*].

«قدر فرمان ملك معظّم .... ناصـر الدّنيا و الدّين ...... ابو الفتح قباجه السلطانی قسیم امیرالمؤمنین [ا]علی الله شانه و اظهـر برهانـه یك نصف از ترجمهٔ کتاب الفرج بعد الشدّة پرداخته شد و عروس زیبای لطایف و حکایات آن را از پس پردهٔ تتق عبارت عربیّت بر نظر خاطبان افاصل عجم جلوه داد و نصف دیگر ابتدا کرده شد و چون باتمام پیوندد باقبال روز افزون این پادشاه مسلاة هموم و غمگسار مهجوران مغموم گردد ایزد تعالی امداد و روت و تأیید راهنما و قرین رای و رایت این پادشاه جهان پناه داراد و حضرت اعلی را محلّ ورود دولت و وفود نصرت قرین باد بحقّ محمّد و آله»

And again in the *Jawámiʿ* (**D.** f 22*a* = **C.** f 360*a*. IV. vii. *Int.* 1848.)

«و قاضی مُحَسِّن تنوخیْ کتاب الفرج بعـد الشدّة تألیف کرده است اندرین معنی و ان کتابی [مقبول و] مرغوبست و مؤلّف آن کتاب را بلغت پارسی ترجمه کرده است و بیشتر حکایات آن درین مجموع مسطورست»

Importance of one of the two Mss.

There exist two Mss. [Ind. Off. 1432 and 720 (= Ethé's Cat. Nos. 737–738)] in the library of the India Office, of the second half of this translation by al-ʿAwfí, upon which the following criticism of this work is based. Ms. [Ind. Off. 1432] deserves special attention, as it contains a Subscription on ff. 456*b*–459*a*, which is of capital importance in determining the history of this translation and a few doubtful points about the life of the author.

History of the transcription of this work.

This Ms. was transcribed in the city of Karkh a suburb of Baghdád. The colophon is defective and reads thus:

«بتاریخ بیست [و] دوّم شهر رمضان همایون در بلدهٔ کرخ سرحـد بغداد بخـط زشت کاتب الحروف اضعف عباد الله (f 458a) القوی الباری فلان ابن فلان در سنه تسعه (sic) ثمانین و خمسین (sic) [تسعمایـه و ثمانین و خمس بفضل ایزد کارساز و داور بی نیاز ترقیم یافت» [probably as Ethé also reads

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1) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, Persian Int. p. کد.

2) The *Ta'ríkh-i-Muḥammadí*, ([Or. 137. Br. Mus.] f 334*a*. composed in 842 A.H.) states that al-ʿAwfí dedicated it to Qabácha; perhaps this is the only work which mentions it and omits his other works.

The copyist has purposely omitted his name and the date is also uncertain; probably it was transcribed in the tenth century of the Hijra, but the Subscription, called *Faṣl*, at the end of this Ms. forms a part of the original transcription by a contemporary, hence its importance is enhanced. The writer of this note is Muḥammad [b.] ʿUmar [b.] Muḥammad of Samarqand, a friend of al-ʿAwfí, who happened to visit Kanbáyat 5 (Cambay) where our author was appointed as a judge by the ruler, Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha of Sind, and where this unauthorised translation was copied by the above-mentioned Samarqandí and kept in secret, and later on collated by him from the author's original copy once more, as follows: [Ind. Off. 1432] ff 456*b*–459*a*.

10 فصل، باز مینماید اصغـــر العبید محمّد [بن] عمـــر [بن] محمّد سمرقندی که کاتب الفرج بعد الشدّه است بر رای
عالم آرای خداوند عالم (f 457a) .... ناصر الدّنیا و الدّین .... ابو الفتح قباچه ...... که بنده بحکم وقایـــع
ایّام و حوادث روزگار ازین حضرت با جلال لازال محفوفة بالعزّ و الاقبال بطرف [نهرواله][(a)] و حدود سواحل
دریای محیط افتاد بموضعی که آن [را] کنبایت میخوانند، قاضی امام اعزّ اخصّ امجد اشرف سدید الملك و الدّین ظهیر
الاسلام و المسلمین واعظ الملوك و السّلاطین منشی النّظم و النّثر ملك الکلام افضل العالم محمّد العوفی یدیم الله ایّامه
15 ورزی چند آنجا سکونت ساخته بود، بسبب اختلاط و مباسطت که بنده را با او می بود ائتلافی[(b)] میداشت، ودر اثنای
آن از کتاب الفرج بعد الشدّه ذکری میکرد و از ترتیب آن تفحّص مینمود، چون معلوم شد که پرداخته (f 457b) شده
است و باتمام[(c)] پیوسته، بعد از لطایف حیل و الحاح بسیار ازوی التماس کرده آمد تا درآن مطالعه رود، چون به
بنده رسید بر سبیل تعجیل ازآن نسخهٔ[(d)] گرفت بی علم و اجازت او مستور میداشت بعد ازآن روی به بیاض نهاد،
چون دفتر دوم بفرمان اعلی لازال اعلی هم او ترتیب داده بود آن یکجلد فرد و مجرّد مانده، و همّت شاهانه شاه جهان
20 خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصر الدّنیا والدّین که در ملك مخلّد باد وبر دشمن مظفّر بر ترتیب دفتر[(e)] اوّل مصروف
میبود، و از عبارتی هر چه لطیف تر ولباسی هر چه پاکیزه تر درآن پوشانیده است وکمال تکلّف واجب دیده، و امروز
رغبت ملوك و سلاطین عالم و فضلا و اکابر بنی آدم درین کتاب زیاده [ازآن][(f)] است که درآن شرح رود، چون دیباچهٔ
آن بالقاب همایون شاه جهان سلطان غازی خسرو دین پرور خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصر الدّنیا و الدّین ضاعف الله
قدره و خلّد سلطانه مطرّز است، ودلها وزبانهای خلق از مؤمن ومشرك وشاه و ملك بولا و ثنای او (f 458a) جار[ی]
25 وثابت، چه امروز حقّی متوجّه گردانیده است بر تمامت بلاد اسلام و دیارکفر که در وهم و خاطر هیچ پادشاه [ا]گذشته
کرّت دوم در سنهٔ احدی و عشرین و ستمایه که کفّار ملاعین دمرّهم الله و اخزاهم بحضرت ملتان رسیدند، با چندان آلت
و عدّت و کثرت و شوکت و ساختگی و قوّت قرب سه ماه آنجا محیط شدند، و هر غدر و حیلت که کردند با آنکه
هیچ حصن حصین و قلعهٔ سنگین یکروز طاقت حملهٔ ایشان نداشت، و هیچ لشکری جرّار با ایشان مقاومت نتوانست

(*a*) Ms. نهروان (sic). (*b*) Ms. اختلافی (sic), Prof. E. G. Browne's emendation as given above.

(*c*) It is evident from here, and from the original preface of al-ʿAwfí (see above, p. 15. *ll.* 17—22) that he had completed the *Daftar-i-Awwal*, which is now lost, and had begun the *Daftar-i-Dúyum*, before he met this Samarqandí in 621 A. H.

(*d*) The transcriber Samarqandí made a copy of it, without the permission of al-ʿAwfí and afterwards collated both the *Daftars* or parts, with the original Ms. of the author.

(*e*) Both the *Daftars* were originally dedicated to Qabácha. (*f*) Mírzá Muḥammad's correction.

کرد، حمله را باصابت رای و [رجاحت] عقل و تلقین آسمانی و مدد رحمانی و توفیق یزدانی و بذل خزاین و استمالت
حشم و رعایت خدم و ترفیه رعایا و تقویت ضعفا و اکرام علما و فضلا و افاضت مرحمت و اشاعت معدلت و مهابت
پادشاهانه و سیاست ملوکانه مقهور و منهزم گردانید، و اکثر ایشان‌را بدوزخ فرستاد، چنانکه گفته اند، شعر[1]

وَقَاكَ اللّٰهُ طُوْلَ الدَّهْرِ هَذَا . بَدُوْلاً بِالْغَدَايَا وَ الْعَشَايَا
وَ هَمُّكَ فِيْ مُطَارَ[دَةِ] الْاَعَادِيْ . وَ شُغْلُكَ فِيْ مُرَاعَاةِ الرَّعَايَا (f 455b) 5

چون این ملاعین دمّرهم الله و [اذ]لّهم حشمت ملکداری و مهابت جهانداری و فرّ پادشاهی و ظفر و نصرت پادشاه
دین پرور شهریار غازی اعلی الله امره مشاهده کرد[ند] و وهن و ضعف و مخذولی خویش بدیدند روی بفرار نهادند
و حیات را غنیمت شمردند و در یکشب تا حدود جرجان(؟) براندند و از نهر سند عبور کردند و سکّان این اقلیم از
نهب و قتل و حرق آن ملاعین دمّرهم الله و اخزاهم خلاص یافتند و آن صیت باطراف عالم و اکناف گیتی سایر و
10 طایر گشت و بر روی روزگار مخلّد بماند و بر همه مقرّر و محقّق شد که این پادشاهی و سلطنت و جهانداری وبسطت
کامگاری و قدرت در دودمان این شاه جهان خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصر الدّنیا و الدّین خلّد الله ملکه تا دامن
قیامت باقی خواهد بود ... الخ.

The importance of the above Subscription.

The importance of this document is enhanced on account of the following reasons: The details of al-ʿAwfí's life are very little known; excepting what is derived from his own works there is no other contemporary account or source from which an exact 15 estimate of his life and works can be formed. This account is written in the lifetime of our author, and by one who was on intimate terms with him and had an equal aptitude for literary pursuits, as is evident from the eagerness with which he seized the opportunity of transcribing this translation even without the permission of the author.

Corroboration of facts.

Unfortunately the Ms. is defective and the name of the transcriber is not identifiable 20 with any of the persons mentioned in the group of al-ʿAwfí's contemporaries in the *Lubáb*; but there is no reason to doubt the validity of his own statement about the secret transcript, in which he confesses his guilt, while on the other hand the historical facts mentioned in this note about the inroads of the Mongols on Sind and Múltán in the year 621 A.H. are corroborated by later historians like Minháj-i-Siráj. 25

« ومدام میان او و سلطان سعید شمس‌الدّین طاب مرقده منازعت می‌بود تا چون مصاف لب آب سند شد میان
جلال‌الدّین خوارزمشاه و چنگیز خان جلال‌الدّین خوارزمشاه بزمین سند آمد و بر طرف دیول و مکران برفت
لشکر کفّار مغل بعد از فتح سدنه [تولی] نوین مغل با لشکر گران بپای شهر ملتان آمد و چهل روز آن حصن
حصین‌را در بندان داد و ملك ناصر الدّین درآن مقاتله و حصار درِ خزانه بگشاد و با خلق احسان بسیار کرد و
30 آثار شهامت و فرزانگی و جلادت و مردانگی چندان نمود که ذکر آن بر صحائف ایام تا روز قیامت باقی بماند و این
حادثهٔ حصار در شهور سنه احدی و عشرین و ستمأیه بود » [Add. 26,189. Br. Mus.] f 169*a* = *M.T.N.* p. 143.

al-ʿAwfí in Kanbáyat between 620—621 A.H.

Although this note is not intended to give a full account of al-ʿAwfí's life, yet we obtain a glimpse of the man and the author, as situated in Kanbáyát (Cambay),

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[1]) The present writer is indebted to Mr. Sayyid Jaʿfar Ḥusayn for the correction of this couplet.

anecdotes taken from about 93 mentioned sources, and probably from many more unmentioned. According to the author's own statement in the Preface to this work (**A.** f 21 *b*), he had already planned it, at the request of Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, but had not finished it when the conquest of Uchcha, the siege of the fort of Bhakkar, the drowning of his former patron-monarch, and the triumph of Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish took place in 625 A.H.. At this critical juncture our author was also among the besieged, and later, like Minháj-i-Siráj [1]), had to change masters. From this time onwards we see him in the service of Sultan Iltutmish, under the patronage of the Wazír Qiwámu'd-Dín entitled the Niẓámu'l-Mulk Muḥammad b. Abí Sa'd al-Junaydí, at whose behest he resuscitated this work and to whom he dedicated it later. There is practically nothing autobiographic, which would throw some fresh light on the sunset of his life, except occasional references to the court and the Wazír in the conclusions of the chapters of the *Jawámi'*. The allusion to the rebellion of Malik Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Dawlatsháh [2]) Balká b. Ḥusámu'd-Dín 'Awaḏh Khalají, the governor of Lakhnawtí, and the victory of Iltutmish over him in 628 [3]) A. H., signifies that it happened in the past and that the *Jawámi'* was in progress. In this respect, al-'Awfí offers a great contrast to the younger and more famous Minháj-i-Siráj, who appears constantly on the scene. Among the innumerable eulogies, one is entirely autobiographic and sums up his position at the court of Iltutmish. (**A.** f 9*b* = **D.** f 105*a* = **C.** f 88*a*. II, iii. **1228**) [4]).

صاحبا قصّهٔ داعی بکرم اصغاکن ۰ که مثل گشت کنون قصّهٔ او در افواه
داعی مخلص عوفی که از احداث زمان ۰ میشود خون دل مسکینش بروزی صد راه
گرچه در مرتبهٔ رابع(a) عقد(b) هنرست ۰ صفر و آحاد سود حاصل او یعنی آه
مدتی عمر برآمد (c) بحصول اغراض ۰ همچو دربان(d) گران معتکف هر درگاه
رنگ و بوی کرم از کس چو ندید و نشنید ۰ با چنین تحفه دگر باز(e) نو آورد پناه
ذات او هست نباتی(f) بکرم آبش ده ۰ چون شود تازه پس از وی ثمر تازه بخواه
او روان کرد زبانرا بمدیح نو دراز ۰ تو(g) ازو دست حوادث بکرم کن کوتاه
تاکه در نور و ضیا ماه نباشد چون(h) خور ۰ تاکه در مرتبه فرزین نبود همچون شاه
دشمن جاه تو در حبس ابد باد چنان ۰ که برون ناید ازو هرگز چون سایه ز چاه(i)

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1) *M. T. N.*, pp. 173—4.

2) (**D.** f 260*a*. III. xviii. 1720).

3) *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* [Add. 26,189 Br. Mus.]. On f 178*b* the year 628 A. H. is clearly written, which is wrongly printed in the text, as 627 A.H., cf. *Lubáb*. Pt. I, p. کک.

4) These lines and other passages in this chapter have been carefully revised by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán, to whose admirable scholarship the present writer is so much indebted.

(*a—b*) **C. D.** عاقل و عقل و. **P.** as above. (*c*) **C.** بر آمد. **P.** بود بر امید. (*d*) **C.** در پایان.

(*e*) **A. C. D.** بار. (*f*) **P.** نهالی. (*g*) **C.** تش. **K.** as above. (*h*) **C. D.** در. (*i*) **C. D. K.** ماه. **P.** as above.

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITION OF THE *JAWÁMI'UL-ḤIKÁYÁT* IN PERSIAN PROSE: - ITS VALUE IN THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL ANECDOTES - ITS TYPICAL SOURCES - ITS ENCYCLOPAEDIC CONTENTS - ITS MERITS AND DEFECTS ANALYSED - ITS INFLUENCE ON LATER WORKS - ITS TURKISH TRANSLATIONS - ITS UTILISATION BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS FOR VARIOUS BRANCHES OF STUDY

(pp. 23–32).

THE POSITION OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT* IN PERSIAN PROSE, AND ITS VALUE IN THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL ANECDOTES.

al-ʿAwfí's unique position amongst Men of Letters.

The epoch in which al-ʿAwfí flourished is important for two reasons. Firstly it coincides with the earliest invasions of the Mongols on Khurásán, and the destruction of the empire of Khwárazm, secondly it is rich in literary productions, both in Arabic and Persian prose. Thus from the literary point of view al-ʿAwfí was an inheritor of the learning of the past, and a transmitter of that knowledge, which was soon to be lost, to the later generations. If we glance at the writers of the early Mongol period, 5 we find that historians like Ibnu'l-Athír (who composed his *Kámil* in 628 A. H. = 1230/1), biographers like Ibn Khallikán (who finished his work the *Wafayátu'l-Aʿyán* in 1274 A. D.) geographers like Yáqút (who completed his *Muʿjamu'l-Buldán* in 1224 A. D.), Zakariyya al-Qazwíní (who composed the *Átháru'l-Bilád* and the *ʿAjá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát* at a later date in 1263 A. D.), special historians and biographers like Ibnu'l-Qifṭí, (who composed 10 his *Ta'ríkhu'l-Ḥukamá'* after 1227 A. D.), Ibn Abí Uṣaybiʿa (d. 1270), the author of *Ṭabaqátu'l-Aṭibbá'*, are the dominant figures in Arabic prose. In Persian some of the most important works were written at this period. Shams-i-Qays wrote his important treatise on prosody the *Muʿjam fí Maʿáʾir-i-Ashʿári'l-ʿAjam*, between 614–630 A. H. = 1217/8–1232/3 A. D., while Abu'sh-Sharaf Náṣiḥ of Jurbádhaqán translated the *Kitábu'l-Yamíní* 15 of al-ʿUtbí. Other mixed works were not wanting *e. g.* al-Fatḥ b. ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Bundárí re-edited ʿImádu'd-Dín al-Kátib al-Iṣfahání's history of the Saljúqs in 1226 A. D., and also epitomised The *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí in Arabic prose, at about this time. Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad an-Nasawí compiled the *Sírat-i-Jalálu'd-Dín Mankubirni* in Arabic, in 639 A.H. = 1241/2 A.D.; Ibn Isfandiyár compiled his *History of Ṭabaristán* 20 (613 A.H. = 1216/7 A.D. being the current year), Saʿd of Waráwín, translated the *Marzubán-náma* from the dialect of Ṭabaristán into ordinary Persian prose about 1210–1215 A. D., and Farídu'd-Dín al-ʿAṭṭár composed the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'* at about the same time as the *Jawámiʿ* was being composed.

The only Collection of its kind written as early as 625 A. H.

All the above writers lived at one place or another, and al-ʿAwfí had no direct 25 connection with them, but they represent a wider group of contemporaries, who were engaged with their own works while al-ʿAwfí was compiling his anecdotes. While others were writing systematic accounts of persons, places, periods and sciences, he selected the whole mass of recorded and unrecorded knowledge as his material, and drew upon it freely, and preserved it in detached anecdotes. The very title of the work as 30 the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát wa Lawámiʿu'r-Riwáyát* ("Compendium of Anecdotes and Flashes of Traditions") suggests the wide field it covers. Since most of the branches of Muslim learning either in Persian or Arabic are represented in one form or another

in the *Jawámi*ᶜ, we find here and there anecdotes common to the above works, and somewhat independent of each of other as regards their sources, method of treatment and illustration. It is really the comparison with the works of his predecessors, that shows the value of this collection and gives it a unique position in the literature of Persia. Hitherto different works had been written on different subjects, but there was not found one collection of this type written in the Persian language representing the history, civilisation, literature, and science known to the Muslim world.

Its typical sources for historical and biographical anecdotes

And again it is the remarkable range of sources that gives this work the historical value it enjoys. A few of them, which were once at the disposal of our author, and are now extremely rare or lost, are these works: aṣ-Ṣúlí's *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá-i-baní'l-*ᶜ*Abbás*, Muḥammad b. Kalbí's *Tafsír* and his son's *Adyánu'l-*ᶜ*Arab*, Khaṭíb-i-Baghdádí's *Ta'ríkh-i-Baghdád*, as-Sallámí's *Ta'ríkh-i-Wulát-i-Khurásán*, Ibráhím aṣ-Ṣábi's *Ta'ríkh-i-Táji*, al-Marzubání's *Kitábu'sh-Shabáb-i-wa'sh-Shayb* and Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ's *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-*ᶜ*Ajam*. A systematic classification of some of the sources of al-ᶜAwfí shows that he used such works as represent the subjects in a typical manner. Thus, for the history of the Caliphate, the Annals of at-Ṭabarí has constantly been utilised; for the history of the ancient kings of Persia, ath-Thaᶜálibí's *Ghurar*, the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí, and the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-*ᶜ*Ajam* (probably the *Khudáy-náma* of Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ) have been used; and for the anecdotes of the various dynastic rulers, special and typical sources have been employed. The accounts of the Ṭáhirids, the Ṣaffárids, and the Sámánids is taken partly from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Wulát-i-Khurásán* of as-Sallámí (as has been shown in the *Conspectus of the Sources*); for the Ghaznawids three important sources are mentioned — the *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí*, the *Yamíní* of al-ᶜUtbí, and the *Khalqu'l-Insán* of Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq an-Níshápúrí; for the Buwayhids the *Ta'ríkh-i-Táji* or the *Ta'ríkh-i-Dayálima* is the source; and the accounts of the Ílak Kháns of Máwará'u'n-Nahr, are based on the *Ta'ríkh-i-Turkistán* by Majdu'd-Dín b. ᶜAdnán as-Surkhakatí, but unfortunately the last three works are also lost. This wide range of sources for the historical anecdotes covers almost all the important works written from the earliest times down to al-ᶜAwfí's day. For politics and administration, there are traces of the utilisation of the *Siyásat-náma* of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, the *Qábús-náma* of ᶜUnṣuru'l-Maᶜálí, and the *A*ᶜ*rádhu'r-Riyása* of aẓ-Ẓahírí as-Samarqandí, and a *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*. The accounts of the Prophet and his followers, and the lives of the saints and religious worthies, are based on the *Kitábu'l-Maghází* of Muḥammad b. Isḥáq, the *Rabí*ᶜ*u'l-Abrár* of az-Zamakhsharí, the *Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya*, the *Asráru't-Tawḥíd*, a *Ta'ríkh-i-Mashá'ikh-i-Khurásán*, a *Rawdhatu'l-*ᶜ*Ulamá'*, a *Siyaru'ṣ-Ṣáliḥín*, and a *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá'* respectively.

Other sources of varied nature

Biographical anecdotes of other eminent personalities, which also form an important portion of the compendium, are taken from various other works, *e.g.* the chapter on the '*Heresiarchs*' is based on the *Átháru'l-Báqiya* of al-Bírúní, that on the '*Poets*' is partly based on the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* of ath-Thaᶜálibí, that on the '*Women*' is partly based on the works of a different nature, like the *Sindbád-náma*, the *Bakhtiyár-náma* and the *Kalíla wa Dimna*. The accounts of the '*Longlived*' persons is taken from the lost work of al-Marzubání, called the *Kitábu'sh-Shabáb-i-w'ash-Shayb*, which ranks next to the *Mu*ᶜ*ammarín* of Abú Ḥátim as-Sijistání. The two parts of the work on '*Blameable*' and '*Praiseworthy*' qualities also contain a wide range of

historical illustration, the sources of which are diverse, and for the stories of encounter and adventure the *Faraj* of at-Tanukhí is the constant and acknowledged source.

Sources for semi-scientific subjects

Besides the above-mentioned subjects, a few other chapters on semi-scientific topics are important on account of their typical sources. Thus the information about cosmography, ethnology, and antiquities is drawn from the works called the *Masálik wa-Mamálik*, which are so many in number, that it is difficult to say which particular work or works were actually utilised. The chapters on natural history and physical properties of natural objects are based on the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* of al-Jahiẓ and that of Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir al-Marwazí, and on other treatises translated from the Greek authors, like Democrates, Aristotle, Galen, Ptolemy and Rufus Ephesius.

Authenticity of its material

An exact estimate of his debt to other important authors cannot be made; the information contained in this notice is chiefly based on the works utilised or mentioned in one form or another. There are many anecdotes in which al-Awfí, gives no clue to his sources; hence we can only conjecture that he had a wide store of information at hand which he utilised according to his own discretion, and occasionally acknowledged his indebtedness to his predecessors. One remarkable thing about the utilisation of his sources is his fidelity to them. This contributes immensely to the authenticity of the knowledge which he handed down to posterity in a plain and straightforward style, (very different to the florid style of the *Lubáb*) and in an abbreviated and anecdotal form. Much as we should have liked him to give us the entire details, and all his authorities and sources of information, it seems it was besides his main purpose, which was to make an anecdote interesting and readable and bring together scattered facts in a reasonable compass.

Copious but less original.

As regards the copiousness of the contents of the *Jawámi*ʿ, a glance at the *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters will show the wide range of subjects and its encyclopaedic nature. It is enough to point out here, that it is one of the largest books in Persian, containing 2,113 anecdotes interspersed with about 1,650 couplets which in a clear *Naskhí* hand cover 358 folios in G = [Suppl. persan 906]; but the material which is al-ʿAwfí's own, or cannot be found in other later works, is very limited. A considerable number of the anecdotes can be traced either in the extant original sources of al-ʿAwfí or in other earlier or later works. In such cases it is interesting to note the transmigration of anecdotes and the various changes which they have undergone, till they have lost their historical accuracy and possess no more value than fiction. This phenomenon has been noticed under the account of the influence of the *Jawámi*ʿ, in the next few pages.

Absence of contemporary events and dates in historical anecdotes.

In his attempt to preserve the traditions of the past and communicate them faithfully, he has ignored what passed around him, and has abstained from giving contemporary history. Of first-hand material, which would have been of immense value to us, there is practically nothing. Lack of dates in historical anecdotes is one of the serious defects of this collection. Besides this, the arbitrary arrangement of anecdotes about a particular individual in different chapters and under different headings, without any chronological sequence or systematic design, is a great hindrance to the utility of the work. In very few cases has al-ʿAwfí challenged the authenticity of his material, hence some inconsistencies and inaccuracies have crept into the anecdotes.

Valuable information in some chapters.

Apart from these defects, there are always found several anecdotes in each chapter that contain genuine facts, and are peculiar to the *Jawámi'*. Most of the biographical anecdotes occur in part I, ch. vi–xxv, and some of these deserve special attention. The same is the case with part II and III: here and there one finds really valuable material. The fourth part derives special importance on account of the scientific 5 information contained in it. The importance of all such anecdotes is either shown in the *Complete Table of Contents* or in the *Conspectus of the Sources*, as will be seen later on

THE INFLUENCE OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT* ON LATER WORKS, AND ITS UTILISATION BY ORIENTALISTS FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES.

The *Jawámi'* as a mine of information, during the vii–xiv centuries of the *Hijra*.

The name of al-'Awfí has always been associated in Persian literature with the *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát* alone; perhaps the *Haft Iqlim*, (composed in 1002 A.H.) is the earliest work that acknowledges the *Lubábu'l-Albáb* also. The influence which the 10 *Jawámi'* exerted on historical, biographical, anecdotal and cosmographical works, can be estimated by the accounts borrowed from this work, directly or indirectly, and by the number of Turkish translations, abridgements and adaptations of this book, and excerpts utilised for critical studies at different times and in different countries.

Its traces in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí.* (vii).

Soon after al-'Awfí, Minháj-i-Siráj, a youger contemporary of his, famous as the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, compiled his history in 650 A.H. = 1260 A.D. Traces 15 of the influence of the *Jawámi'* are found in places, although without any acknowledgement on the part of Minháj. The following anecdote which is found in only one Ms. [Add. 16,862 Br. Mus.] is common to both. Cf. (J. f 216*a*. II. vi. **1300**); *M.T.N.*, pp. 282–5). It describes the ideal training of a prince, at the hands of an excellent preceptor who punished the prince very severely, at the end of his probation, in order 20 that he might realise the pains of his victims, when he should become a king.

In the *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát.* (vii).

In a similar manner we find that Zakariyyá al-Qazwíní, in his *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát*[1]) (composed in 1263 and 1276 A.D.), relates the story of the Israelite hermit Barṣíṣá and the temptation of the Devil, which is also common to both and classified under the same heading; but it cannot be ascertained whether he actually borrowed from 25 al-'Awfí. Cf. (D. f 255*b*. III. xvii. **1711**); *Q.A.M.*, pp. 368–9).

Citations in the *Tajáribu's-Salaf.* (viii).

The earliest citations[2]) from the *Jawámi'* with due acknowledgement are found in the *Tajáribu's-Salaf*, the enlarged Persian version of the *Kitábu'l-Fakhri* of Ibnu'ṭ-Ṭiqṭaqa (composed 701 A.H. = 1302 A.D.) by Hindúsháh b. Sanjar al-Kíráni aṣ-Ṣáḥibí, for the prince Nuṣratu'd-Dín Atabek of Luristán in the year 724 A.H. = 1324 A.D.. There 30 are three direct quotations from the *Jawámi'*; in Nos. (1) and (3) the *laqab* of the author al-'Awfí as Sadídu'd-Dín is given (see above, p. 5). The parallel references are to [Browne Or. G. 3.].

(1) Accession of Marwán b. Ḥakam. (**A.** f 97*a*. I. v. **248**) = f 34*a*.
(2) Why the Caliph 'Uthmán recalled Ḥakam b. al-'Aṣ. (**A.** f 92*b*. I. v. **222**) = f 34*b*. 35
(3) Convent of Niẓamu'l-Mulk Ṭusí in Constantinople. (**A.** f 188*a*. I. xiv. **746**) = f 138*b*.

1) Ed. F. Wustenfeld. 1848. (= *Q.A.M.*)

2) The importance of these was first discovered by Prof. Browne, who kindly communicated them to the present writer.

Citations in the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*, (viii).

A little later Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfí of Qazwín, makes a passing mention of the *Jawámi*ʿ, as shown above (p. 5, *ll.* 14–23), but in the geographical part of his *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* (composed in 740 A. H. = 1340 A. D.) at least ten direct quotations are traceable. Mr. Guy Le Strange has commented in his preface to the Persian text of the *Nuzhat* (p. xv) on the inaccuracy of Ḥamdu'llah in the use of the *Fársnáma*, and the case is the same with the *Jawámi*ʿ. All these quotations are cut short, and sometimes disranged and misquoted, but for our purposes it is important to note that as early as the eighth century A. H. the *Jawámi*ʿ had shown its influence on important writers. As the end of the book derives its special interest from the stories of '*Marvels*', Ḥamdu'llah has utilised it in this connection. Parallel references are given below to the Persian text of the *Nuzhat* edited by Mr. Guy Le Strange. (= *H.N.Q.*)

(1) Duality of sex in a girl in Baghdád. (D. f 59*b*. IV. xiv. 1936) = p. 281.
(2) A monstrous birth in Palestine. (D. f 60*a* IV. xiv. 1937) = p. 292.
(3) Joint-twins presented to Náṣiru'd-Dawla. (D. f 60*b*. IV. xiv. 1940) = p. 284.
(4) A monstrous birth in the reign of Iltutmish. (D. f 60*b*. IV. xiv. 1942) = p. 288.
(5) The City of Women near the Moving Sands. (D. f 70*a*. IV. xvii. 1976) = p. 273.
(6) Talisman set in the Valley of Ants (D. f 75*a*. IV. xix. 1989) = p. 288.
(7) Spellbinding gnats in Naṣíbín. (D. f 75*b*. IV. xix. 1990) = p. 106.
(8) The wondrous water-mill of Yúnus. (D. f 75*b*. IV. xix. 1991) = p. 284.
(9) The seven enchanted cities of Babylon. (D. f 76*a*. IV. xix. 1994) = p. 292.
(10) The rain-producing fire-temple in Armenia. (D. f 78*b*. IV. xx. 2001) = p. 293.

In the *Zubdat u't-Tawáríkh* and *Áthár u'l-Wuzará*, (ix)

Likewise we find two other authors utilising the *Jawámi*ʿ in the ninth century A. H., the first being Ḥáfiẓ Abrú who composed the *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* for the prince Báysunqur in 829 or 830 A. H. = 1426 or 1427 A. D. The very first anecdote of the *Jawámi*ʿ, on the origin of idolatry, is cited word for word without any acknowledgement. Cf. (A. f 22*a*. I. i. 1), [Or. 2774 Br. Mus.][1]) f 24*b*. The next author who is greatly indebted to al-ʿAwfí is Sayfu'd-Dín Ḥájí b. Niẓám al-ʿAqílí. In the first nine chapters of his *Áthárů'l-Wuzará*' (composed about 883 A. H. = 1478/9 A. D.), besides acknowledging the *Jawámi*ʿ as one of his main sources, he has incorporated a considerable number of anecdotes from the accounts of the wazirs and secretaries in the *Jawámi*ʿ. See [Or. 4107 Br. Mus.]. f 4*a*, f 7*a*, f 10*a*, f 11*a*, f 12*b*, f 16*a*, f 24*a*, f 37*b*, f 41*b*, ff 111–4. The last reference, though without acknowledgement, is important. It contains the epistle written by Muʿínu'd-Dín al-Aṣamm, the secretary of the Sultan Sanjar in response to the appeal for redress sent by the Muslim captives in Byzantium[2]). (A. ff 220. I. xviii. 1003) = ff 111–4.

In the works of Mír Khwánd and Khwánd-amír (x).

The most wide-spread influence of the *Jawámi*ʿ is seen in the tenth century A. H.. At least ten authors who wrote in various parts of Máwará'u'n-Nahr, Khurásán, Asia Minor and India, on history, biography and cosmography quote this work. In the *Kháṭima* of the *Rawḍhatu'ṣ-Ṣafá* of the historian Mír Khwánd (d. *circa* 903 A. H.) occur four direct citations of the same type as in the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*, noticed above.

[1]) See for a description of this Ms. and others examined in this notice Rieu's Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. under the original Press-mark indicated in [ ], which denotes the work or works in question.

[2]) The text of this anecdote has been carefully edited by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán and suffixed to the *Lubáb*. Pt. I, pp. 314—7; see also below, p. 32.

(See *M.R.S.*, pp. 1467, 1468, 1470). But the works of his illustrious grandson Kháwnd-amír, who wrote mostly in Herát, are directly influenced by the *Jawámi*ᶜ. A few resemblances are found in his earlier works, the *Ma'áthiru'l-Mulúk* and the *Khulásatu'l-Akhbar*, while his *Dastúru'l-Wuzará'*, (composed in 915 A.H. = 1509/10 A.D.) contains at least twenty citations. This Manual of the Wazírs, like its predecessor the *Átháru'l-Wuzará'*, is indebted to the wealth of biographical material, scattered throughout the anecdotes of the *Jawámi*ᶜ, which is indispensable for a thorough understanding of the Eastern method of administration. See [Or. 234 Br. Mus.] f 11*b*, f 12*a*, f 15*a*, f 17*b*, ff 18, f 19*a*, f 20*a*, f 21*a*, f 22*b*, f 29*a*, f 36*a*, f 37*a*, f 38*b*, f 39*a*, f 50*a*, f 110*a*. Then in his *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar* composed in 930 A.H. = 1523/4 A.D. two long anecdotes are quoted verbatim in the account of the Barmecides. (1) How a scribe forged a letter and incidentally healed the breach between ᶜAbdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuzá'í and Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide. (**D.** f 180*a*. II. xxiii. **1503**) = *Kh.H.S.* Vol. II. *juz'* iii, pp. 18–9. (2) The proscription by the Caliph Hárún of the lamentation over the Barmecides, and the account of Mundhir b. Mughíra concerning their generosity. (**D.** f 146*a*. II. xiv. **1411**) = *Kh.H.S.* Vol. II, *juz* iii, p. 24.

In the *Laṭá'if-u'ṭ-Ṭawá'if* and *Ta'ríkh-i-Abu'l-Khayr Khání* (١)

Then ᶜAlí, the son of Ḥusayn al-Wá'iẓ al-Káshifí, modelled his *Laṭá'ifu'ṭ-Ṭawá'if* (composed in 939 A.H. = 1532/3 A.D.) on the lines of the *Jawámi*ᶜ. Although he has surpassed al-ᶜAwfí in systematic classification of the groups, the material has lost much of historical accuracy in transition. Two direct quotations from the *Jawámi*ᶜ as the work of Sadíd-i-ᶜAwfí are found in [Add. 18,408 Br. Mus.] on f 19*b* and 35*b*, but in every chapter the *Jawámi*ᶜ has constantly been used, barring those taken from other sources and added by the author himself. And again in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Abu'l-Khayr Khání* written by Masᶜúd(í) b. ᶜUthmán Kúhistání for the Uzbek ruler ᶜAbdu'l-Laṭíf Khán of Samarqand after 947 A.H. = 1540/1 A.D., an extract, from the anecdote of the tailor, the tyrannical chief, the significance of the former's prayer-call at unusual hours, and a rape, is given in an altered form. This story also occurs in the *Faraj*, and the *Siyásat-náma*; a comparison of the text of each will perhaps show the changes which anecdotes undergo in transmigration. Cf. *T.F.S.*, pt. II, pp. 17–9, *N.S.N.*[1]), pp. 45–54, (**A.** f 126*a*. I. vi. **399**) = [Add. 26,188 Br. Mus.] f 66*b*.

In the *Ta'ríkh-i-Nigáristán*, *Ta'ríkh-i-Ílchí-i-Niẓámsháh*, and *Ma'áthiru'l-Akhbár*, (٢).

In the latter half of this century three other writers acknowledge the importance of the *Jawámi*ᶜ. The Qáḍhí Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghaffárí of Qazwín, like most of the previous historians, refers to our author in connection with the *Jawámi*ᶜ in his *Nusakh-i-Jahán Árá* composed in 972 A.H. = 1564/5 A.D., [Or. 141 Br. Mus.] f 118*b*; but in his *Ta'ríkh-i-Nigáristán* composed earlier in 957 A.H. = 1551/2 A.D., at least 10 direct quotations can be discovered. These are of the nature of those in the *Nuzhat* mentioned above. Short parallel references are given to the Bombay lithographed edition of the *Nigáristán* published in 1829 A.D.

(1) The letter of the Caliph ᶜUmar to the Nile. (**A.** f 39*a*. I. iii. 80) = p. 211.
(2) The wondrous dream of Sabuktigín in 361 A.H.. (**A.** f 233*a*. I. xxi. **1072**) = p. 95.
(3) The interpretation of the Caliph ᶜAlí's seven scourges to al-Mutawwakil in his dream. (**A.** f 236*b*. I. xxi. **1089**) = p. 63.

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[1]) i.e. the *Siyásat-nama* of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, (Pers. Text.) ed. by C. Schefer.

(4) The caution of Amír Ismá'íl the Sámánid in arresting Muḥammad Hárún Sarakhsí, the rebel govervor of Jurján. (**D.** f 157*b*. II. xvii. **1447**) = p. 149.
(5) al-Ḥajjáj's *dinár* and justification of his double-edged policy. (**D.** f 236*b*. III. xii. **1669**). = p. 303.
(6) Aḥmad b. Mudbir's omen, deliverance, and appointment as governor of Sham by al-Mutawakkil. (**D.** f 20*a*. IV. iv. **1842**) = p. 60.
(7) Presage of being killed by a beast. (**D.** f 29*b*. IV. ix. **1868**) = p. 114.
(8) Joint-twins presented to Náṣiru'd-Dawla. (**D.** f 60*b*. IV. xiv. **1940**) = p. 131.
(9) A monstrous birth in the time of Iltutmish. (**D.** f 60*b*. IV. xiv. **1942**) = p. 273.
(10) The mystery of the idol at Somnát. (**D.** f 77*b*. IV. xx. **1996**) = p. 100.

Then Khwarsháh b. Qubád al-Ḥusayní in his *Ta'rikh-i-Ílchi-i-Niẓámsháh*, composed in 917 A.H. 1511/2 A.D. for Ibráhím Quṭbsháh of Golkunda (now under the territory of H. E. H. The Niẓám of Ḥaydarábád Dakan), besides acknowledging the *Jawámi*ʿ as one of its sources in [Add. 23,513 Br. Mus.] on f 3*a* and referring to our author on f 183*a*, bears traces of its influence on f 55*a*, f 56*a*, f 57*a*, f 206, though without mention. One instance, the appearance of Zoroaster in the reign of Gushtásp on f 55*a*, is striking as it exhibits a twofold source. Cf. (**A.** f 60*a*. I. iv. **141**), *Jámiʿu't Tawárikh-i-Rashídí* [Add. 7628 Br. Mus.] f 250*a*. Similarly the *Mir'átu'l-Adwár* of Musliḥu'd-Dín al-Lárí composed about 974 A.H. = 1566/7 A.D. bears a few traces In the case of two anecdotes about Abú Saʿíd b. Abi'l-Khayr the source is not mentioned. Cf. *M.A.T.*, pp. 70, 141–2, (**A.** ff 45. I. iii. **111–112**), *Mir'at* [Add. 7650 Br. Mus.] f 119*a* With this account we close the survey of the influence of the *Jawámi*ʿ on the tenth century writers.

The *Zínatu'l-Majális* as an adaptation of the *Jawámi*ʿ, (xi).

In the eleventh century A.H. there are found at least three authors who had a direct knowledge of the *Jawámi*ʿ. The first being Muḥammad Majdu'd-Dín al-Majdí al-Ḥusayní or Ḥasaní, who compiled, probably in Káshán, the *Zínatu'l-Majális*[1]) [Or. 238 Br. Mus.] in 1004 or 1025 A.H = 1595/6 or 1616 A.D., which is no more than an unscrupulous adaptation of the *Jawámi*ʿ, with supplementary material. This work of al-ʿAwfí appears to have suffered a similar fate to that of the *Lubáb*, as the *Zínatu'l-Majális* and the *Bazm-Áráy*[2]) stand in the same category of daring plagiarism, although Majdu'd-Dín in his preface to the *Zínat* f 1*b* submits a comparatively modest claim and acknowledges the *Jawámi*ʿ as one of its sources. He has altered the division of chapters, and actually intended to divide the book into 10 parts (*Ajzá'*) further subdivided into 10 sections (*faṣls*). Thus the very headings, the arrangement of anecdotes, the wording of the *Jawámi*ʿ are entirely copied, excepting the introductions and eulogies of al-ʿAwfí in each chapter. This work has been discussed by Barbier de Meynard and Sir William Ouseley and in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, and two lithographs of it have been published at Ṭihrán, in 1262 and 1270 A.H.

Citations in the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*, (xi).

The second author is Muḥammad Qásim b. Hindúsháh of Astarábád, in whose *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta* (composed in 1015 A.H. = 1606/7 A.D.) besides references to the author under the reigns of Qabácha and Iltutmish, occur two quotations, one[3]) in the

1) See Rieu, cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, p. 758—9. On f 176*a*, 1025 A.H. as the current year.
2) See *Lubáb*, Pt. I, Pers. Int. p. ا.
3) Cf. above *l.* 10.

account of Sultan Maḥmúd, (D. f 77*b*. IV. xx. 1996) = *B.T.F.* Vol. I, p. 60, and another in that of the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím of Ghazna. The Imám Yúnus of Saját-wandí's threatening sermons to the Sultan (D. f 105*a*. II. iv. 1230) = *B.T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 83. Yet another anecdote quoted without acknowledgement resembles closely the wording of the *Jawámi'*, concerning the respect of the Sultan for his order to a load-bearer, 5 who laid down a heavy stone in a field, which was lying there for a long time, even though it was an obstacle to the royal cavalry. (D. f 188*a*. II. xxiv. 1525) = *B.T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 84.

In the *Ẓafaru'l-Wálih*, an Arabic History of Gujrat, (xi).

Perhaps the first quotations that have been translated into Arabic appear in an Arabic History of Gujrát entitled *Ẓafaru'l-Wálih bi Muẓaffar wa Álih*, composed 10 by 'Abdu'llah Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Makkí al-Áṣafí Ulugh-Khání between 1014–1020 A.H. = 1605–1611 A.D. This work has been edited by Sir E. Denison Ross[1]) in three volumes, and in each volume one exact quotation occurs. Under the year 625 A.H. = 1228 A.D. in the reign of Iltutmish, (Vol. II, p. 696) a short account of al-'Awfí and the *Jawámi'* is given in connection with the conquest of 15 Uchcha and the defeat of Qabácha. The preface of the *Jawámi'* (A. f 21*a*) is translated in extenso, even the couplet in Persian which Qabácha addressed to himself before drowning is quoted verbatim. Again under the year 946 A.H. = 1539/40 A.D., in two different volumes two anecdotes are cited from the *Jawámi'* in illustration of similar historical ruses. The first, the ruse of 'Abdu'llah b. 'Ámir [b. Kurayz] at the 20 time of the conquest of Níshápúr in 31 A.H. = 651/2 A.D., that of sending wooden boxes packed with armed men into the fort, is cited in illustration of the artifice of Shér Sháh during the capture of the fort of Ruhtás. (A. f 174*b*. I. xiii. 678) = Vol. III, p. 983–5. The second artifice is that of the great Saljúq Wazír Niẓámu'l-Mulk in acquiring a piece of land in Constantinople from the Qayṣar of Rúm covering the 25 skin of a bull, which is quoted as a parallel to the craftiness of the Portuguese in acquiring a harbouring place from the Sultán Bahádur-sháh of Gujrát, at Dayw (or Diu). (A. f 188*a*. I. xiv. 746) = Vol. I, pp. 252, 254–5.

In the *Nawádir u'n-Nuqúl*, (xii).

The last work, with which the survey of the influence of the *Jawámi'* closes, lies in the twelfth century A.H.. It is a collection of historical anecdotes from various 30 sources, entitled the *Nawádiru'n-Nuqúl fí Ma'áthiri'l-'Uqúl* [Add. 25,834 Br. Mus.], compiled by Abu'l-Fatḥ b. Muẓaffar in 1151 A.H. = 1738/9 A.D. The plan of this book is probably based on the chapter-headings of the *Jawámi'*, but the author in his preface on f 3*a* has acknowledged his indebtedness duly and has quoted faithfully. In the latter half of this book a considerable number of anecdotes of various eminent 35 persons are incorporated from the *Jawámi'*.

Retrospection.

Roughly speaking, some twenty works, written in Persia, India and Asia Minor from a time soon after the completion of the *Jawámi'* about 630 A.H. = 1232/3 A.D. down to the 12th century of the *Hijra*, have utilised this work in different connections, as has been shown above. But the importance of this work has not yet 40 been realised as a whole. In the above survey those works are recorded which have come under the notice of the present writer, but there may be others hitherto

[1]) The present writer is indebted to him for these references and unpublished material from this book.

undiscovered, which would further reveal the influence of this work in the past ages.

Turkish versions of the *Jawámiʿ*, and abridgements, (ix—xii)

It appears from the number of the Turkish translations of the *Jawámi* that this book was once very popular in Turkey, and was highly appreciated by the Ottoman Sultans and poets. H. Khalfa (Vol. II, pp. 510/1) mentions three translations and one abridgement. The first is by the famous Ibn ʿArabsháh, the well-known author of the *ʿAjá'ibu'l-Maqdúr*, who translated it by order of the Sultan Murád II (reigned 824–855 A.H. = 1421–1451 A.D.). In the Preface[1]) to the Turkish version of the above work, the translator, Murtedhá Názimí Zádeh enumerates among the works of Ibn ʿArabsháh, this first Translation of the *Jawámi*, but there exists no copy of it in Europe at present, so far as appears from the catalogues of the various great libraries. The work was translated a second time by the poet Nejátí for the Prince Sultan Maḥmúd (1451–1481 A.D.), and apparently this is also lost; even Hammer-Purgstall in his *Gesch. der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* (Vol. I, p. 166) does not say whether any copy of it is extant.[2]) There exists one Turkish version in the Vienna Library (see Flügel's Cat. No. 423, Vol. I, p. 143), but it is not certain whose version it is, Ibn ʿArabsháh's or Nejátí's or Ṣáliḥ b. Jalál's. A third Translation by Ṣáliḥ b. Jalal, who prepared it at the request of Sultan Báyazíd b. Sulaymán (d. 973 A.H. = 1565 A.D.), exists in the Bodleian Library (see [Sale 47] Ethé Cat. Bodl. No. 331, column 179*a*). An abridgement by Muḥammad b. Asʿad b. ʿAbdu'llah at-Tustarí, mentioned by H. Khalfa, is preserved in the Núr-i-ʿUthmániyya Library. There is another abridged and excerpted version called the *Kitábu'l-ʿAjá'ib wa'l-Ghará'ib* in the Br. Mus. [Or. 1874], dated 1133 A.H. = 1721 A.D.. The number of the fine royal codexes described later on in the *Descriptive List of the Mss.*, especially the Mss. **B.**, **F.**, **G.**, **H.**, **I.**, **J** transcribed in India, Persia and Turkey also show that this work was once very popular.

Utilisation in the xiii—xiv centuries A.H. = xix—xx A.D.

Among the Oriental scholars who have actually utilised this work, the name of Sir William Ouseley comes first. During his travels in Persia (1810–2 A.D.), speaking about Iṣṭakhr and "*Zend u Pázend*", he quotes the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát* from the account of Zoroaster, (**D.** f 219*a*. III, viii. **1619**) = *Travels etc.* Vol. II, pp. 363–4 and incidentally speaks about the Mss. of this work. Then Edward Thomas of the Bengal Civil Service, the editor of J. Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities etc.* published in 1858 A.D. cites the anecdote of ʿAmr b. Layth and Kamlú, (**A.** f 164*a*. I. xii. **631**) = Vol. I, pp. 317–8 and likewise speaks of the Mss. in his possession. Next comes J. Dowson, the editor of the *History of India etc.* by Sir H. M. Elliot (published in 1867–77 A.D.), who has utilised a considerable number of anecdotes concerning the early history of India (Vol. II, pp. 155–203). The *Jawámiʿ* was also utilised in 1900 A.D. from a critical point of view by Prof. W. Barthold[3]), in his work in Russian called "*Turkistán at the time of the Mongol Invasion*", (Pers. Extracts, Vol. I, pp. 83–101), in which about 25 original anecdotes bearing upon Turkistán are incorporated; and in his article "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" in the Nöldeke-*Festschrift* (I, p. 175–6) he has discussed the importance of the anecdotes of the Ṣaffárids in the *Jawámiʿ*, as will be noticed in the next chapter. Then Prof. J Marquart[3]) of Berlin in

1) See Cat. of Turkish Mss. in the Br. Mus. [Add. 7847] p. 43.

2) See also Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 102, footnote.

3) The present writer is personally indebted to both of these scholars for these references.

his "*Ērānšahr*" (published in 1901), pp. 295–8, refers to the anecdotes about Zabulistan and in his article "Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Volkerkunde von Mittel-asien und Siberien" (p. 296) quotes from the account of the valley of Kharkhíz (D. f 67 *a*. IV, xvi. **1967**) about the West-Siberian tribes, and directs attention to the ethnological side of the geography of Turkistán. Then M. Clément Huart cites one anecdote (D. f 69*b*. IV, xvii. **1972**) 5 with its translation in French, in the Documents persans sur l'Afrique — Extrait du "Djawamiʿ ʿel-Ḥikâyât"de Djémâl-Ouddîn Moḥammed ʿAufî — published in the *Recueil de Mémoires Orientaux*, 1905 (see pp. 102–103).

Again in 1906 A.D. in the Persian Introduction to the first part of the *Lubáb*, the literary value of the *Jawámiʿ* has been duly emphasised by Mírzá Muḥammad 10 Khán of Qazwín, whose interest in the present work and the publication of its entire text is enormous. (See *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 314–7 for a long citation concerning the epistle of Muʿínu'd-Dín al-Aṣamm, the secretary of the Sultan Sanjar).

Recently a few anecdotes from the first part of the *Jawámiʿ*, chapter xx "On Physicians", have been used by Prof. E. G. Browne, in his excellent "*Arabian* 15 *Medicine*" (pp. 78–79), being the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in November 1919 and November 1920 A.D.

To conclude, the encyclopaedic contents of this work have created diverse interests, and have been considered as an authentic source of valuable information for different branches of study from the earliest days down to modern times, as has been pointed 20 out in this chapter.

CHAPTER III.

A CONSPECTUS OF THE SOURCES OF THE *JAWÁMIʿU'L-ḤIKÁYÁT* (pp. 33-103)

WITH A LIST OF 37 IMPORTANT NOTICES CONTRIBUTED TO THIS WORK

A CONSPECTUS OF THE SOURCES OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT.*

Numerical index to the *Conspectus*

Among the innumerable works which our author utilised for the compilation of this work, only 93 are mentioned[1]), in one way or another, throughout the array of anecdotes; and the names of about 45 authors are given along with the works; out of which nearly 35 sources have been completely identified and established, and about 43 are traceable, while the remaining 15 are either lost or hitherto unknown. 5

Difficulty of identification.

The vague manner in which al-ʿAwfí alludes to different works, and the inexact titles by which he refers to them, render identification extremely difficult, but nevertheless, there is one great consolation, that whenever an original source is traced, he redeems himself by his fidelity and intelligent adaptation. Such instances are many, and they will be shown in the course of our examination of individual works in the accompanying *Conspectus.* 10

Only prominent sources discussed.

Although the sources of our author are not unique, yet they are typical; hence they possess a special importance, and contribute to the authenticity of the material contained in the *Jawámiʿ*. On a systematic analysis of the anecdotes, firstly, it is observable that these sources represent the literature of the period or subject with which our author was intimately acquainted; secondly, he utilised the ample material 15 at his disposal to the best advantage; and thirdly, the encyclopaedic nature of the anecdotes made it necessary for him to see more than one book on each subject, and sift suitable material for his own purpose. For these reasons a thorough analysis of the sources is out of the question; we cannot say with certainty that these anecdotes were actually taken from such and such a source, except occasionally when the author 20 himself acknowledges them. This investigation of some of the most prominent sources of the *Jawámiʿ* is chiefly based on the works mentioned by the author, and on others, which though unmentioned are yet established by parallel citations and other critical canons, whereas the rest are noticed briefly in the *Table of Contents* as they occur in the anecdotes. 25

A List of the Sources described in the Conspectus.

(1) a. (*Á̱thāru'l-Báqiya*) of al-Bírúní.
 b. (*Kitábu'l-Hind*) of al-Bírúní.
(2) a. *Iḥyá'u ʿUlúmi'd-Din* and *Kímiyá'u's-Saʿádat* of al-Ghazálí.
 b. (*at-Tibru'l-Masbúk fi Naṣiḥati'l-Mulúk* of al-Ghazálí).
(3) *Akhbár-i-Barámika* (indefinite). 30

[1]) See below, *Alphabetical List* of all the works mentioned in the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát.*

(4) a. *Adyánu'l-ʿArab* (of Hishám ibnu'l-Kalbí).
b. *Tafsír-i-Ibnu'l-Kalbí* (of Muḥammad b. as-Sá'ib b. Bishr al-Kalbí).
(5) (*Asráru't-Tawḥíd fí Maqámáti'sh-Shaykh Abí Saʿíd*).
(6) *Aʿráḏhu'r-Riyása fí Aghráḏhi's-Siyása* (of aẓ-Ẓahírí as-Samarqandí).
(7) a. *Injíl* (or the Gospels of Manes.)
b. *Kitábu'sh-Shábúrqán* (of Manes).
c. *Kanzu'l-Iḥyá'* (of Manes).
d. *Sifru'l-Jabábira* (of Manes).
e. *Sifru'l-Asrár* (of Manes).

(a–e: see the notice on 'The five works of Manes mentioned in the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*.') 5

(8) *Ta'ríkh-i-Baghdád* (indefinite). 10
(9) *Ta'ríkh-i-Tájí* (of Ibráhím aṣ-Ṣábí).
(10) *Ta'ríkh-i-Turkistán* of Majdu'd-Dín b. ʿAdnán as-Surkhakatí.
(11) *Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* (of as-Sallámí).
(12) *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá'-i-bani'l-ʿAbbás* (of Abú Bakr aṣ-Ṣúlí ash-Shaṭranjí).
(13) *Ta'ríkhu'ṭ-Ṭabarí* of Muḥammad b. Jarír aṭ-Ṭabarí. 15
(14) *Ta'ríkh-i-Mashá'ikh-i-Khurásán* (indefinite).
(15) *Ta'ríkh-i-Maqdisí* (of Muṭahhar b. Ṭáhir al-Maqdisí).
(16) *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-ʿAjam* (indefinite), (with a notice of other similar sources).
(17) a. *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* (of Abu'l-Faḏhl al-Bayhaqí).
b. *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní* of Abu'n-Naṣr al-ʿUtbí. 20
(18) a. *at-Taysír fi't-Tafsír* of Najmu'd-Dín ʿUmar an-Nasafí.
b. *ʿUyúnu'l-Akhyár* (a work ascribed to an-Nasafí, but unidentifiable).
(19) *Khalqu'l-Insán* of Maḥmúd b. Aḥmad called Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq of Níshápúr.
(20) *Khawáṣṣ-i-Ashyá'* of Majdu'd-Dín b. ʿAdnán as-Surkhakatí.
(21) *Dastúru'l-Wuzará'* of Sultán Raḏhí(yyu'd-Dín Ibráhím of Ghazna). 25
(22) *Ra'y-Aráy* the Persian Translation of aṯh-Ṯhaʿálibí's *Ghurar wa Siyar* by Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq of Níshápúr.
(23) *Rabíʿu'l-Abrár* of az-Zamakhsharí.
(24) *ar-Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya.*
(25) a. *Sindbád-náma* (the two prose versions of Daqá'iqí of Marw and of Ẓahírí of Samarqand). b. *Bakhtiyár-náma.* 30
(26) (*Siyásat-náma*) of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk (a comparative study).
(27) *ash-Shabáb wa'sh-Shayb* of al-Marzubání.
(28) *Sharafu'n-Nabí* (probably of Abú Saʿd ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Abí ʿUṯhmán Muḥammad al-Khargúshí, the famous preacher of Níshápúr). 35
(29) *Ṭabá'iʿu'l-Ḥayawán* of Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir al-Marwazí.
(30) *Ghurar wa Siyar* of Abú Manṣúr ʿAbdu'l-Malik aṯh-Ṯhaʿálibí.
(31) *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanúkhí.
(32) *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* (Persian Translation by al-ʿAwfí).
(33) (*Qábús-náma*) of ʿUnṣuru'l-Maʿálí Kay-Ká'ús. 40
(34) *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* of al-Jáḥiẓ (with a notice of other works on natural history).
(35) *Kitábu'l-Firása* (probably referring to a translation of the work of Polemon).
(36) *Kitábu'l-Maghází* of Muḥammad b. Isḥáq.
(37) *The Masálik wa Mamálik* (a notice on the cosmographical portions in the *Jawámiʿ*).

(1) a. *The Átháru'l-Báqiya* [1]).

The two works of al-Bírúní directly utilised.

This is one of those sources not mentioned directly, yet established completely after textual comparison. Throughout the entire collection consisting of 2,113 anecdotes, only three times is al-Bírúní named (by his *Kunya*, Abú Rayḥán) in connection with his works. But on comparison of the portions of the *Jawámi*ᶜ noticed below, it is found that at least two of the famous works of al-Bírúní have been utilised, *viz.*, the *Átháru'l-Báqiya* and *Kitábun fí Taḥqíq-i-má li'l-Hind.* 5

Parallel references.

al-ᶜAwfí is directly indebted to the *Áthár* for the earlier part of his chapter on 'Pseudo-prophets', which exactly corresponds with the eighth chapter in al-Bírúní. (Parallel references are given in the *Table of Contents*: Part III, ch. viii. Anecdotes **1622—1625** = *Áthár* pp. 207–9, 210–211). 10

Method of utilisation.

Although al-ᶜAwfí had more than one source for these anecdotes, yet the influence of al-Bírúní on this chapter is predominant, the whole account of Manes in the *Jawámi*ᶜ (D. f 219*b*. III. viii. **1622**), being based on the *Áthár*, pp. 207–9. The arrangement of the anecdote is altered but the contents are the same and it is nothing more than an abridged Persian version of the account of Manes from the *Áthár*. al-Bírúní has 15 mentioned only 5 works of Manes, and these very five works are also enumerated in the *Jawámi*ᶜ. Again the account of Mazdak begins as it is found in the *Áthár*, but the lacuna in the Arabic text of Sachau (p. 209) cannot very well be supplemented by the Persian version of this anecdote [2]) from the *Jawámi*ᶜ. Further on, the account of Máh-áfaríd or Bih-áfarídh, as al-Bírúní calls him, agrees very closely; then follows 20 the account of al-Muqannaᶜ which is similar in both. Therefore, the debt of al-ᶜAwfí to al-Bírúní is considerable.

b. *The Kitábu'l-Hind* [1]).

Only one citation from the Kitábu'l-Hind.

One concrete example of the utilisation of this work is the account of the animal Sharw. (D. f 91*b*. IV. xxiii. **2057** = *Indica*, Text, p. 99, *ll.* 14–7). While describing the various types of strange animals, al-ᶜAwfí inserts this extract from the *Indica*, about Sharw or 'Shérú, an animal of the rhinoceros species, which is found in the forests 25 of Konkon, called Dának, a sea-coast place, situated to the south of Samhita, in India.

(2) a. *The Iḥyá'u ᶜUlúmi'd-Dín.*

Reference to these works but no citation.

This famous work of al-Ghazálí, surnamed Ḥujjatu'l-Islám, (d. 1111 A. D.), *Iḥyá'u ᶜUlúmi'd-Dín* or the "Revivification of the Religious Sciences", and its epitomised Persian version the *Kímiyá-yi-Saᶜádat* or "The Alchemy of Happiness", are mentioned by al-ᶜAwfí, in connection with the controversial problem of *Samá*ᶜ, in his introduction 30 to the chapter on 'Musicians' (A. f 242*b*. I. xxiv. *Int.* **1126**).

This controversy is treated at full length in the Buláq edition of the *Iḥyá* Pt. II, pp. 229–264, and al-Ghazálí, as a lover of Music, has refuted the theories of the

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1) References to the pages of the Arabic Texts of the *Áthár* = *B. A. B.* and *Indica* = *B. T. H.*, ed. by E. Sachau.

2) See below Notice No. (26) Anec. No. (27).

theologians against the unlawfulness of hearing music, and has championed the cause of the Ṣúfís, who considered it as the food of the soul. Our author has simply referred to it, without dilating on the subject, and has proceeded to illustrate his chapter with anecdotes of the musicians. The first anecdote describes the origin of music, and the conception of Pythagoras (circa 582–500 B C.), concerning the scientific arrangement 5 of notes and their influence on the soul. At the end of this long account, the author adds a few words as to why the Prophet proscribed musical revelry.

b. *at-Tibru'l-Masbúk fí Naṣíḥati'l-Mulúk*, of al-Ghazálí.

at-Tibru'l-Masbúk utilised in the *Jawámi'*.

This work, though not mentioned anywhere in the *Jawámi'*, appears to have been constantly utilised by al-'Awfí. It cannot be ascertained whether al-'Awfí used the lost Persian original of al-Ghazálí written for Muḥammad b. Malikshāh Saljúqí or the 10 present Arabic version made by 'Alí b. Mubárak b. Mawhúb for the Atábek Alp Qutluq of Mawṣil (d. 595 A. H. = 1199 A. D.); but a textual comparison shows that al-'Awfí used a fuller text. A few parallel references are noted here: Shaqíq of Balkh's advice to the Caliph Hárún (**A.** f 196*b*. I. xv. **790**) = p. 14; Fuḏhayl b. 'Iyáḏh's advice to the same (**A.** f 197*a*. I. xv. **791**) = p. 15; Abú Ḥázim-i-Laffáf's gift to the Caliph Sulaymán 15 (**A.** f 197*a*. I. xv. **792**) = p. 16. This treatise on politics like others, such as Ibn Qutayba's *'Uyúnu'l-Akhbár*, al-Máwardí's (d. 450 A. H.) *Aḥkámu's-Sulṭániyya*, and aṭ-Ṭurṭúshí's *Siráju'l-Muluk* and Ibnu'l-Jawzí's tract [Or. 1529 Br. Mus.] offers unique opportunities for parallel references to the anecdotes of the *Jawámi'*.

(3). *The Akhbár-i-Barámika* [1]).

Accounts of various works of the same title.

This source remains unidentified. No clue whatsoever is found as to who was the 20 original author of this work, from which al-'Awfí borrowed. The fall of the Barmecides took place in the year 803 A. D., and nearly a century and a half later, there is found in the *Fihrist* (p. 134) in the list of Abú 'Abdi'llah al-Marzubání's works (d. 378 A. H. = 988/9 A. D.) a work with the title of *Akhbáru'l-Barámika*, about which Ibnu'n-Nadím, a contemporary of al.Marzubání, says that it contained nearly 500 25 folios. We have some reason to believe in the acquaintance of our author with the works of al-Marzubání, as will be shown in the account of the *Kitábu'sh-Shabáb-i-wa'sh-Shayb* (another source of al-'Awfí), but this work like most of al-Marzubání's is completely lost, therefore we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion in this case. Another work of the same title is mentioned by H. Khalfa (Vol. I, p. 185. No. 184) and Ibnu'l- 30 Jawzí (d. 597 A. H. = 1200 A. D.) is said to be the author of it; but apparently that is also lost. Even the Arabic originals of Ḏhiyá'u'd-Dín Baraní's translation, "*Akhbár-i-Barmakiyán*" for Fírúz Sháh, about 757 A. H. = 1356 A. D., prepared a century later

[1]) See, for a critical estimate of the Barmecides, W. Barthold's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 663–6; and for the sources of their history, L. Bouvat's "*Les Barmécides d'après les Historiens Arabes et Persans*", pp. 5–23. (On p. 19, he incorrectly mentions Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-'Awfí († 854 = 1450) as one of the authors of a work, written for the Wazír Niẓámu'l-Mulk; and again mentions "*Jami'u'l-Hikayat*". This work and its author are no other than the present *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát*, and Sadídu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-'Awfí).

than al-ʿAwfí's time, are not well established (see Cat. Pers. Mss. [Or. 151 Br. Mus.] Vol. I, pp. 333–4); therefore this source cannot be established with certainty.

Anecdotes borrowed.

al-ʿAwfí had more than one source for his anecdotes of the Barmecides[1]), as 34 of them are scattered throughout the *Jawámiʿ*; but he has mentioned the above source three times only: 5

(1). ʾṢáliḥ b. ʾKhuzayma expresses disbelief in Nʿumán b. ʿAbdu'llah's account of the overflowing generosity of Fadhl b. Yaḥyá the Barmecide. (J. f 214*b*. II. v. 1291).

(2). ʾQásim ʾGhassán ʾMuḥammad ʾṬá'í's description of Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide's peculiar method of scattering wealth to the winds. (D. f 130*a*. II. ix. 1341).

(3). Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide dismisses Sahl (?) b. Nuʿaym, one of his officials in 10 charge of Baṣra, on ʿAbdu'llah's complaint of his meanness. (D. f 245*b*. III. xiv. 1694).

The first two anecdotes can be verified from Baraní's version[2]), (pp. 19–20), where Abu'l Qásim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad at Ṭá'ifí's Arabic original is mentioned.

(4) a. *The Kitáb-i-Adyánu'l-Arab.*

Identification of this source.

The account of the conversion of ʿImrán ibnu'l-Ḥuṣayn is borrowed from this work, (A. f 22*b*. I. i. 7). The identity of the author of this work is conjectural; a work 15 of the same title is recorded in the *Fihrist* (p. 69) under the list of the works of the son of the ancient Commentator, Abu'l-Mundhir Hishám b. Muḥammad b. as-Sá'ib b. Bishr al-Kalbí; moreover in the *Kitábu'l-Aṣnám*[3]) (p. 63) of Hishám Ibnu'l-Kalbí, edited by Aḥmad Zakí Pásha, the title of this book appears in the list of his works.

b. *Tafsir-i-Ibnu'l-Kalbi.*

Indirect indebtedness of al-ʿAwfí.

Besides this we have reason to assume an indirect acquaintance of al-ʿAwfí with 20 the elder Ibnu'l-Kalbí's[4]) *Tafsír*, as there are two references to this Commentary on the *Qur'án* (iii, 16; xxv, 40), from which two anecdotes are borrowed

(1). The Prophet and the two rabbis. (A. f 26*b*. I. i. 32). Cf. *Maʿálimu't-Tanzíl* p. 150.

(2). Aṣḥábu'r-Rass and how the ʿAnqá'-i-mughrib[5]) became extinct. (D. f 93*a*. IV. xxii. 2067).

Unfortunately this work is also lost, but extracts of it are found in the works of az- 25 Zamakhsharí, aṭ-Ṭabarí and al-Baghawí.

(5). *The Asráru't-Tawḥíd fí Maqámáti'sh-Shaykh Abí Saʿíd.*

The *Asrár* as a source established from internal evidence.

This is one of those sources, though not mentioned directly, yet established completely after an investigation of the anecdotes concerning the Shaykh Abú Saʿíd b. Abi'l-Khayr of Mayhana, in the *Jawámiʿ*, and comparison with the *Asráru't-Tawḥíd* of Muḥammad ibnu'l-Munawwar, who composed it from an earlier work, identified 30 as the *Ḥálát wa Sukhunán-i-Shaykh Abú Saʿíd ibn Abi'l-Khayr*, by V. A. Zhukovski,

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1) See below, *Reclassification of the Contents.* 2) Bombay litho. 1889.

3) The present writer is indebted to Prof. D. S. Margoliouth for this and many other valuable references.

4) See for a critical account of the two Kalbís, Brockelmann's article in *Ency. Islam* (Vol. II, pp. 689–90).

5) This story is connected with Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwán, cf. *Beidhawi*, ed. Fleischer, Vol. II, p. 40, *ll.* 9—12.

the editor of both. The date of the composition of this work is not precisely known, but it is certain that it was written at the end of the twelfth century somewhere about 1200 A.D.. Dr. R. A. Nicholson in his masterly monograph on the life and activities of the Shaykh (published in his "*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*") has drawn an actual portrait of him, and unveiled the myths connected with his personality. Nothing more can be added to it from the anecdotes given in the *Jawámi'*, because all the eight anecdotes selected by al-'Awfí are directly taken from the *Asrár* (chapter II) in which the Shaykh is shown in the marvellous surroundings, successful display of telepathic powers and glorious achievements, which are attributed to the last period of his life (*i. e. circa* 400–440 A.H. = 1009–1049 A.D.).

Anecdotes borrowed.

In the *Table of Contents* (Pt. I. ch. iii. anecdotes **110—118**) parallel references and descriptive titles of the anecdotes of the Shaykh are fully given with a view to establish the authenticity of al-'Awfí; here a few points about his method of utilisation of this source will be sketched.

Comparison of 'Aṭṭár and 'Awfí's method of utilisation of this source.

The third chapter, which contains the anecdotes of the saints, is remarkable for its sources; as they run parallel to those used by his famous contemporary Farídu'd-Din 'Aṭṭár in his *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'*. The *Risála* of al-Qushayrí forms the main basis of both, but 'Aṭṭár made a very free use of it, whereas al-'Awfí in relating stories of the older Ṣúfís kept as far as possible to the original. Coming to Abú Sa'íd, al-'Awfí selected a unique work of its kind, abridged the longer anecdotes from the *Asrár*, and presented them as accurately as possible in his *Jawámi'*. On the other hand, 'Aṭṭár most probably had more than one source in this case also, and so his eclectic method did not allow him to be very faithful to the original. *E.g.* the anecdote of a deserted traveller and the tiger-ride-miracle of the Shaykh common to the *Tadhkira* (II, pp. 331–2) and the *Jawámi'* (**A.** f 44*b*. I. iii. **110**), which is evidently taken from the *Asrár* (pp. 76–84) where it is told at a much greater length than in either of these, will illustrate the point, and a comparison of both with the original passage will show the greater accuracy of al-'Awfí, in the utilisation of this source, than of 'Aṭṭár.

(6). *The Kitáb-i-A'ráḏhu'r-Riyása fí Aghráḏhi's-Siyása* [1]).

The anecdote borrowed from this source.

This extremely rare work is mentioned only once, as the source of the anecdote of the early appearance of Manes in the reign of Bahrám b. Hurmuz, the Persian King. (**A.** f 70*a*. I. iv. **163**).

Determination of the authorship of this work.

The name of the author is not given, but it is the same work which al-'Awfí has himself mentioned in the *Lubáb*, (I, pp. 91–2) in the biography of its author, Ẓahíru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Alí as-Samarqandí al-Kátib, along with his other works, with a special note about the recasting of the *Sindbád-náma*. But there is a difference in the title of the work and the name of the author, only so far, that in the Ms. of the *Sindbád-náma* [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 11*b*, the author mentions his own name as Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Alí b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar (or Ḥasan) aẓ-Ẓahírí al-Kátib as-Samarqandí, and in the Ms. of *A'ráḏhu'r-Riyása* preserved in the Library

1) See *H. Khal.*, Vol. I, p. 368, no. 986; *Chahár Maqála*, p. 176, Persian Text; Rieu, Cat. Pers. Mss. Vol. II, p. 748; Leyden Cat. Vol. III, p. 14; also below, Notice (25)a; "*Turkistán*", Extracts in Vol. I, pp. 71–2.

of Leyden [Codex 904 Warn.], the title of the work along with the full name of its author is mentioned as the *Aʿrádhu's-Siyása fí Aghrádhi'r-Riyása*, without his *Laqab*, Bahá'u'd-Dín, and with Ḥasan instead of ʿUmar as his great-grandfather, which is undoubtedly correct.

Dedicated to Masʿud b. ʿAlí.

This work has been utilised by Prof. Barthold in his "*Turkistán*", and the 5 following is the account given by him in person, for the benefit of the present writer. The Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán, whom Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, in connection with the account of the *Sindbád-náma* (*Lubáb* I, pp. 318–9) has identified with the "last but one ruler of the Ílak Kháns" *viz.*, Ibráhím b. al-Ḥusayn, is not the same person. He is Ruknu'd-Dín Masʿúd b. ʿAlí who ruled in Samarqand between 1163–1178 A.D.; 10 and whom Ibráhím b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded immediately (1178/9–1200 A.D.).

Date of composition uncertain.

Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, (Vol. II. p. 258), gives the date of the composition of this work as about 552 A.H. = 1157 A.D. *i.e.* 6 years earlier than the accession of Masʿúd b. ʿAlí; whatever the date of the composition may be, it is certain that it was written at about the same time as the *Chahár Maqála*, and 15 it was a rare work even in the days of al-ʿAwfí, who says in the *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** ff. 70) that he has read it, and describes it in the following manner in the *Lubáb*, (I, p. 91–2):

The nature of its contents.

« و اعراض الریاسه فی اغراض السیاسه از منشآت اوست، بحری زاخر موج او جواهر فاخر، از ابتدای دولت جمشید ملك تابعهد سلطنت مخدوم خود لطایف کلام جملگی ملوك بیاورده است و آنرا شرحی زیبا بعبارت دلربا داده ..... و آن تصانیف بتمام و کمال درین بلاد و دیار کم مطالعه افتاده است » 20

(7). *The five works of Manes, mentioned in the Jawámiʿ u'l-Ḥikayát.*

Reason for including these works in the *Conspectus*.

Although the works enumerated below do not form part of the direct sources of al-ʿAwfí, they have attracted the attention of ancient and modern writers, and on account of their importance a description of them is given here. As they are mentioned in one anecdote on the life and doctrines of Manes (**D.** f 219*b*. III. viii. **1622**), it will be convenient to ignore the alphabetical order. 25

al-ʿAwfí indebted to al-Bírúní for this account.

The direct source of this anecdote appears to be the *Áthárul'l-Báqiya*, where these very five works are mentioned, and al-Bírúní's source for this account is different from that of Ibnu'n-Nadím [1]), al-Masʿúdí [2]), al-Yaʿqúbí [3]), or ash-Shahristání [4]), who are the most important Islamic authorities on the subject.

a. The *Injíl*, or the Gospel. 30

b. The *Kitábu'sh-Shábúrqán*, (or The *Sháhpuhrakán* or *Sháhpuriyyán***).

c. The *Kanzu'l-Iḥyá*, (or *Sifru'l-Iḥyá* or *Kanzu'l-Akhbár***).

d. The *Sifru'l-Jabábira*, (or *Sifru'l-Jáyiza***).

e. The *Sifru'l-Asrár*, (or the *Sifru'l-Asfár*).

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1) The *Fihrist* contains the fullest account in Arabic on Manes, his doctrines, works etc., pp. 327–338, which forms the basis of G. Flugel's excellent monograph, "*Mani: seine Lehre und seine Schriften*", Leipzig, 1862.

2) *Murúju'dh-Dhahab* (ed. C. B. de Meynard) I. 200–1; VIII. 293; The *Tanbíh*, pp. 100, 101, 135.

3) Ibn Wáḍih, ed. Houtsma. Vol. I, pp. 180–182.

4) *Kitábu'l-Milal-i-wa'n-Niḥal* (Arabic text) ed. Cureton, pp. 188–192.

Short notes on these five works of Manes

a. The *Injíl*[1]), or the Gospel, about which Flügel[2]) is silent, contained according to al-Bírúní 22 Gospels, "which he arranged after the letters of the alphabet: twenty-two letters." (In Syriac, the number of letters is 22, but in the *Fihrist* (p. 17) the letters of Manes are said to exceed the Arabic alphabet.) Further, al-Bírúní mentions a few doctrines from the Gospels, which are the cardinal principles of his religion. (pp. 207–8.)

b. The *Kitábu'sh-Sháburqán*[3]), which is the only one written in Persian, as its title and object indicate, is characterised by al-Bírúní, who shows an intimate knowledge of the work, as "of all Persian books one that may be relied upon", since "Mání in his law has forbidden telling lies, and he had no need whatever for falsifying history"[4]). (See, Flügel's *Mani*, No. 322, p. 365, for other particulars). This work contained three chapters, which are enumerated in the *Fihrist*, (p. 336, *l.* 16). Ya'qúbí, Mas'údí and Shahristání also quote from it.

c. The *Kanzu'l-Iḥyá* or *Sifru'l-Iḥyá* (or *Aḥyá*), the origin and identification of which is so ably discussed by Flügel, (No. 324, p. 367–9), is described by al-Ya'qúbí as containing, "an account of the salvation wrought by the Light and the corruption wrought by the Darkness."

d. The *Sifru'l-Jabábira*, or the Book of the Giants; again Flügel (No. 320 p. 362–3), discussing the nature and contents of this work, on the authority of Mosheim writes, "Dass Mání hier überhaupt von seiner Dämonologie, von dem Wesen der Dämonen in seiner Gesammtheit gehandelt hat."

e. The *Sifru'l Asrár*, which is also mentioned by other authorities as *Sifru'l-Asfár*, is the first work mentioned among the Syriac written works of Manes in the *Fihrist*, where its chapter headings are enumerated. (See, Flügel No. 307, pp. 354–6, for other particulars.)

Besides these, in the *Fihrist* (pp. 336–7) nearly 77 tracts of Manes[5]) and other chief Manichaeans are enumerated, in which, according to al-Bírúní, "he asserted that he explained what the Messiah had (only) hinted."

This anecdote of Manes and Manichaean religion is entirely based on al-Bírúní's account in the *Áthár* (pp. 207–8), just like some other accounts[6]) of the great 'Heresiarchs.'

(8). *The Ta'ríkh-i-Baghdád.*

Only one anecdote with acknowledgement.

This important work is mentioned once only, without the name of the author, in connection with the anecdote of the infatuation of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Thábit, who had gone from Raqqa to the Madínatu's-Salám (Baghdád), and there

[1]) al-Bírúní and al-Ya'qúbí make a passing mention, whereas a work *al-Jabilla*, which occurs in different forms, is likely to be the Gospels.

[2]) Since this *Injíl* is not mentioned in the List of Manes's works in the *Fihrist* pp. 336–7.

[3]) The Arabic form of "the work written for Shápúr", the then reigning Persian king.

[4]) See Professor Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 154–6, Manes and Manichæans.

[5]) See, for a bibliography of the works of Manes, A. von Le Coq's article, "On .... Expedition to Turfán" etc., in *JRAS.* (1909) p. 301; also an article by A. V. Williams Jackson, on, "The so-called Injunctions of Mani" etc. *JRAS.* (1924) pp. 213–227.

[6]) See *Table of Contents* Pt. III, ch. viii, for parallel references, and the preceding Notice No. (1)a.

seeing a girl was almost lost in her love, but being unsuccessful, took up an ascetic life and became famous as one of the holy men of Baghdád, (D. f 35*a*. IV. x. 1888).

Not traceable in the Khaṭib's nor Ṭayfur's histories.

In the extant portions of the Mss.[1] of Abú Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. Thábit al-Khaṭíb al-Baghdádí's (392–463 A. H. = 1002–1071 A. D.) famous History of Baghdád called *the Ta'rikh-i-Madinatu's-Salám*, especially under the section of the Muḥammadún, 5 this anecdote is not traceable, nor in the *Ta'rikh-i-Baghdád* of Abu'l-Fadhl Aḥmad b. Abí Ṭáhir Ṭayfúr al-Baghdádí (204–80 A. H.), the predecessor of the Khaṭib, in the seventh part rescued from oblivion by Dr. H. Keller, which deals with the early part of the Caliphate of al-Ma'mún; nor in the *Maṣáriʿu'l-ʿUshsháq* of Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar as-Sarráj (d. 500 A. H.), who collected the anecdotes of lovers from earlier sources 10 and especially from the Khaṭíb himself; therefore this source remains unidentified.

(9). *The Ta'rikh-i-Táji*[2].

Only one anecdote with acknowledgement.

This famous work of Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím[3] b. Hilál al-Ḥarrání aṣ-Ṣábí (d. 384 A. H. = 994 A. D.) is mentioned once, as the source of the anecdote[4] about the domination of the Buwayhid, Muʿizzu'd-Dawla Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad over the Caliphate, his exasperation at the contradictory reports received from the court of the Sámánids 15 concerning the intrigue of the Caliph al-Mustakfí, whom he had relieved from the clutches of the Turkish guards, and the brutal murder of the Caliph al-Mustakfí by the Daylamites in 334 A. H., (A. f 115*b*. I. v. 345).

aṣ-Ṣábí's sarcastic remark about his own work.

According to Miskawayh's *Tajáribu'l-Umam*, Yáqút's *Irshádu'l-Arib*, and Ibn-Khallikán's *Wafayátu'l-Aʿyán*, the author. is said to have described this history of 20 the Buwayhids, which he composed for ʿAdhudu'd-Dawla, after whose title "*Táju'l-Milla*" it was called *Kitábu't-Táji* (commonly known as *Ta'rikh-i-Táji*), as "a pack of lies"; but since the author was compiling it under duress and in prison, his sarcastic remark should be accepted with due modification, for it is reported that ʿAdhudu'd-Dawla supervised it; and apart from this, the extracts and references to this work 25 in later authorities[5] show that at least the records of contemporary events by the author were of extreme value in determining the authenticity of the historical accounts concerning the ascendancy of the Daylamites over the Caliphate. Prof. Margoliouth also holds a similar view.

Identification of this source through parallel citations.

Unfortunately, this work like his *Rasá'il* and others has come down to us only 30 in extracts, and the original is lost, therefore it is not possible to establish the debt of al-ʿAwfí to Ibráhím the Sabian. There are nearly 22 anecdotes[6] in the *Jawámiʿ* about the Buwayhids, but there is no acknowledgement of their sources, except in

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1) G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique a l'Histoire de Baghdádh*, p. 11–12; Mr. F. Krenkow's article, *JRAS.* (1912) pp. 31–79; also Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 329.

2) *Fihrist*, p. 134; *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 94. No. 2061.

3) *Ency. Islam*, Mr. F. Krenkow's article on 'al-Ṣábí', Vol. IV, pp. 19–21; Yáqút, *Irshádu'l-Arib*, Vol. I, pp. 324–58; Ibn Khallikán (Wüst.) Biog. No. 14; also The *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* ed. by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth = *Eclipse*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 22, 23, 53, 59, 404.

4) For verifying this anecdote see *Eclipse*, Vol. II, pp. 86–7.

5) Largely utilised by Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Isfandiyár, Miskawayh, al-ʿUtbí, Hilál aṣ-Ṣábí and ath-Thaʿálibí.

6) See *Reclassification of the Contents*. [s. v. Buwayhids].

the anecdote referred to above, nor any mention of his grandson's works [1]), the Chronicle of Hilál b. Muḥassin (359–448 A. H. = 970–1056 A. D.) and his *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'*; so we can only identify this source from other parallel citations.

(10). *The Ta'ríkh-i-Turkistán* [2]).

Mention of this works under two titles

This important, but unfortunately lost work of Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. ʿAdnán as-Surkhakatí, the maternal uncle of al-ʿAwfí, is mentioned under two names, once as 5 the *Ta'ríkh-i-Máwará'u'n-Nahr*, and in the subsequent anecdote as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Turkistán.*

The two anecdotes borrowed from it.

The first anecdote is that of a King of Khurásán who employed Negroes in his army, to fight against the people of Turkistán, who lived beyond the Oxus, and were frightened to death at the sight of Negroes, (**D.** f 69*b*. IV. vii. **1973**). 10

The second anecdote is about the earliest marriage between Irán and Turkistán, in which the ruler of Irán called 'Ḥastawayh or 'Ḥasanawayh or 'Ḥaswayh (?) sends a Negro as a present to the ruler of Turkistán, called 'Tukaj or 'Balaj or 'Balaḥ (?), who in the end usurps the throne, and makes himself independent, and from him the name Qará Khán originated (**D.** f 70*a*. IV. xvii. **1974**). 15

al-ʿAwfí himself gives a short account of this work.

In the second anecdote al-ʿAwfí makes a passing mention of this work and says that his uncle had prepared a history of the rulers of Turkistán, in which he discussed at length the history of the Turks, (who are now invariably identified as the Ílak Kháns [3]) of Máwará'u'n-Nahr or the Ál-i-Afrásiyáb [4]). This history was dedicated to the ruler of Samarqand, Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán, Ibráhím ibnu'l-Ḥusayn (reigned 20 between 1178–1200 A. D.), whose patronage our author once enjoyed while he was in Samarqand [5]).

Its importance acknowledged by Prof. Barthold.

Of this work, the first and the last of its kind, only these two anecdotes are preserved, but al-ʿAwfí had evidently seen and used it. Concerning the history of the Ílak Kháns there is very little known, except what Prof. W. Barthold has gathered 25 from various sources, and recorded in his *Turkistán* [6]).

(11). *The Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* [7]).

External evidence for ascribing this work to as-Sallamí.

This work is also among those that can only be identified through external evidence, as the title is generic, and the name of the author is not specified. There

[1]) See the Introduction of Amedroz to the *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'* of Hilál for a sketch of his life and works.

[2]) Cf. *H. Khal.* Vol. II, pp. 122, 127, Nos. 2187; (2209, for Turkish Trans.); *Chahár Maqála*, Persian Text, notes pp. 184–9; *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 179–81 and 337.

[3]) See Prof. Barthold's article in *Ency. Islam.* Vol. II, pp. 465–6.

[4]) See Sir Henry Howorth's article in JRAS. (1898) Vol. XXX, pp. 467–502.

[5]) See above p. 5, *ll.* 28–33; pp. 7–8.

[6]) This excellent work "*Turkistán at the time of the Mongolian Invasion*", of which a translation from Russian into English is in preparation, fulfils in an ample measure the hopes expressed by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán in his survey of the sources for a reconstruction of the history of Turkistán in his notes to the *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 184–9). See for the chronological data of these Kháns Vol. II, pp. 509–12, and for the extracts from the *Jawámiʿ*, Vol. I, pp. 83–101, and for other anecdotes including those cited by Prof. Barthold, *Reclassification of the Contents of the Jawámiʿ*. [s. v. Ílak Kháns].

[7]) See, for the histories bearing the same title, *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 127. No. 2210.

are many anecdotes scattered through the whole collection about the eminent persons of Khurásán, but the work bearing this title is cited only twice. From the nature of these anecdotes it must, as Prof. W. Barthold [1]) asserts, be the *Ta'rikh-i-Khurásán*, or the *Kitáb-i-Akhbár-i-Wulát-i-Khurásán* of Abu'l-Ḥusayn [2]) ʿAlí b Aḥmad al-Bayhaqí an-Níshápurí, famous as as-Sallámí [3]) (d. 300 A. H.). Unfortunately, this book is known only through the extracts preserved in various important works, like the *Ansáb* [4]) of as-Samʿání, the *Wafayátu'l-Aʿyán* [5]) of Ibn Khallikán and the *Zaynu'l-Akhbár* [6]) of Gardízí, from which we can obtain an idea of its contents, and lastly in the *Jawámiʿ* as follows:

The two anecdotes directly taken from the *Ta'rikh-i-Khurásán.*

The first anecdote is the account of Abú Shujáʿ Aḥmad b. Abdu'llah al-Khujistání's [7]) abduction of the wife of his general Shérzád, the raid of ʿAyyásh, (or Abbásu'l-Qaṭṭán [8])) on Níshápúr, the rape of al-Khujistání's mother, the curse of Abú ʿUthmán al-Ḥírí against the unbearable tyranny of al-Khujistání and his murder at the hand of his pages. (J. [9]) f 307*a*. III. xvii. 1707). The second anecdote in which the *Ta'rikh-i-Khurásán* [10]) is particularly mentioned as the source is that of the foolish revenge of Aḥmad b. Ibráhím, an adherent of Ráfiʿ b. Harthama against his master's murderer Abú Saʿíd Dharʿání or Dargháni, the governor of Khwárazm, by poisoning the water-tanks of the city of Khwárazm and thereby inflicting death on innocent people (D. f 233*a*. III. xi. 1652).

Reasons for ascribing this work to as-Sallámí

The reasons for deciding that these two anecdotes were drawn by al-ʿAwfí from the work of as-Sallámí are four-fold. Firstly, they corroborate materially some of the facts mentioned in connection with the murders of al-Khujistaní in 262 A. H. and Ráfiʿ b. Harthama in 283 A. H., by Ibnu'l-Athír [11]) and Ibn Khallikán [12]), of whom the latter cites directly from as-Sallámí. Secondly, there are three other anecdotes about the Ṭáhirids and Ṣaffárids with acknowledgement of their sources as *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭáhiriyán* and *Akhbár-i-Yaʿqúb-i-Layth*, by which titles al-ʿAwfí is alluding to the parts of as-Sallámí's work dealing with these dynasties, as is confirmed by Ibn Khallikán's [13]) testimony. Thirdly, there are other anecdotes about the rulers of Khurásán, especially the Ṭáhirids, Ṣaffárids and Sámánids, in which no source is indicated, but in certain cases we can produce actual parallels from Ibn Khallikán, who cites with

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1) See his article "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" in the Noldeke-*Festschrift*, Band I, pp. 174–6.

2) Ibn Funduq calls him Abú ʿAlí al-Ḥasan.

3) See, for his biography Ibn Funduq's *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaq* [Or. 3587 Br. Mus.] f 89*a*; *Chahár Maqála*, Persian text, notes p. 125; also *Yatímatu'd-Dahr*. IV, p. 29.

4) Facs., p. 601 *b*.

5) (Wust.) Biog. Nos. 308, 350, 540, 553, 764, 838.

6) Excerpts without acknowledgement found in *Turkistan*, (Vol. I, pp. 1–18) from [Ouseley 240, Bodl.].

7) See for a detailed account of his life, *Kámil*, Vol. VII, pp. 204–211.

8) According to Ibnu'l-Athír, *ibid* p. 209.

9) Source mentioned only in this Ms., which appears to be genuine.

10) In G. f 257*a*. *Ta'rikh-i-Khwárazmiyán* occurs instead; all other Mss. read as above. It is quite likely that the portion dealing with the rulers of Khwárazm is meant, which also agrees with the context and corroborates the reasoning given further on.

11) Cf. *Kámil*, Vol. VII, pp. 256, 318–9, for parallel excerpts of the anecdotes referred to above.

12) Cf. *Ibn Khal.* (Wüst.) Biog. No. 838, pp. 69–70 for parallel excerpts.

13) *Ibid.*, (Wust.) Biog. No. 838, p. 68.

acknowledgement from as-Sallámí. Fourthly, Prof. W. Barthold who has made a critical use of some of these anecdotes from the *Jawámiʿ* in his *Turkistán*, and in his excellent monograph "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" which is a continuation of Nöldeke's article in the "*Orientalische Skizzen*"[1]), confirms this view with similar documentary evidence, as will be noticed shortly.

Anecdotes of the Ṭáhirids.

Besides the two concurrent episodes, there is another anecdote which also appears to be taken from as-Sallámí. It is the account of the dissipation of Muḥammad[2]) b. Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir-i-Dhu'l-Yaminayn, the fruitless attempts of Ibráhím b. ʿAzíz to avert the disaster, his alliance with Yaʿqúb b. al-Layth, and the end of the Ṭáhirid rule in Khurásán (D. f 152*a*. II. xv. 1428). This anecdote is taken from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Ṭáhiriyán*, but in the same and in the next and other chapters there are 34 other anecdotes[3]) concerning the Ṭáhirids. The sources of these anecdotes are not acknowledged, but some of them are probably drawn from the same part of as-Sallámí dealing with the Ṭáhirids. e. g. (D. f 148*a*. II. xv. 1417), (D. ff 154*a*–155*a*. 1435–7).

Anecdotes of the Ṣaffárids.

Similarly another anecdote of the Ṣaffárids occurs with acknowledgement of the *Akhbár-i-Yaʿqúb-i-Layth* as source, which does not necessarily indicate an independent work; al-ʿAwfí is probably referring to that part of as-Sallámí's history dealing with the Ṣaffárids, as Ibn Khallikán[4]) says that as-Sallámí devoted the first section of his history to the account of ʿAmr[5]) b. al-Layth. Another piece of evidence which supports this view is that another anecdote of al-Khujistání referred to above, where *Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* is mentioned as the source, occurs here with the *Akhbár-i-Ál-i-Layth* as the source. The following four anecdotes are likely to have been drawn from as-Sallámí's portion of the history dealing with the Ṣaffárids. Why Ráfiʿ b. Harthama was nicknamed the Ṣáḥibu'l-Jaráḥát, (D. f 233*a*. III. xi. 1654). The earlier portion of this anecdote about the ugliness of Ráfiʿ corresponds materially with the account cited by Ibn Khallikán[6]) from as-Sallámí. The rise of Abú Shujáʿ Aḥmad al-Khujistání, his treachery towards his master Ibráhím Sarkab or Sharkab or Sarkat, and his alliance with Yaʿqúb b. al-Layth, (D. f 233*b*. III. xi. 1655). The account of his rise corresponds actually with Ibnu'l-Athír's[7]) version. The same al-Khujistání's cruel murder of Muẓaffar the son of Muḥtáj (D. f 242*a*. III. xiii. 1686). ʿAmr b. al-Layth's story[8]) of the gardener Isḥáq and the butcher as related by himself in connection with the cruel murder of Isḥáq, to his favourite Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad az-Zuburí[9]) (?) (D. f 242*b*. III. xiii. 1687). In the last two cases we do not possess any parallels, but both anecdotes appear to be genuine.

Prof. Barthold's opinion as to the direct indebtedness of al-ʿAwfí to as-Sallámí.

Including all those mentioned above there are 37 anecdotes of the Ṣaffárids[10]) in the *Jawámiʿ*; 25 of them occur in the first part, and 15 are found in chapter xiii,

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1) Translated by J. S. Black: see the article on "Yakúb the Coppersmith, and his dynasty" in *Sketches from Eastern History*, pp. 176–206.

2) Cf. the account of his arrest in 259 A. H. *Kámil*, Vol. VII, pp. 180–1.

3) See *Reclassification of the Contents*, [s. v. Ṭáhirids]. 4) (Wust.) Biog. No. 838, p. 67.

5) See Prof. W. Barthold's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 335–6.

6) (Wüst.) Biog. No. 838, p. 69. 7) *Kámil*, Vol. VII, p. 205.

8) This anecdote affords plenty of data for ʿAmr's character and achievements.

9) D. الزرى. 10) See *Reclassification of the Contents*. [s. v. Ṣaffárids.]

dealing with "The Wiles and Stratagems in Statecraft". The opinion of Prof. W. Barthold referred to previously is quoted here: "Unmittelbar aus Sallāmī's Werk werden wohl abgesehen von einigen anekdotenhaften Ausschmückungen, die von Muḥammed Aufī in seinem Ǵāmiʿ-al-ḥikāyāt mitgeteilten Erzahlungen entlehnt sein. In Aufī's Erzählungen scheint die östliche Tradition in ihrer spateren, wahrscheinlich auf Sallāmī zurückzu- 5 führenden Gestalt am ausführlichsten wiedergegeben zu sein; manche bei Gardīzī nur angedeutete Episode wird bei ʿAufī ausfuhrlich erzahlt; wir werden sehen, dass diese Ausführungen nicht von ʿAufī erfunden sein können und auf Gardīzī's Vorlage zurückgehen müssen."

Nature of Utilisation.

Prof. Barthold thinks that the anecdotes of the Ṣaffárids in the *Jawámiʿ*, apart 10 from some embellishments, go back directly to as-Sallámí, and the case is the same with other sources whose texts we possess. al-ʿAwfí's main interest was in anecdotal illustration of his chapter-headings, and naturally what might interest him would find its place in the collection from this or a similar source. That is why in this instance we find partial correspondence of anecdotes with Gardízí, Ibnu'l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán's 15 accounts, as an anecdote which might interest al-ʿAwfí might lie beyond the scope of a systematic history; Ibn Khallikán himself, speaking of his own utilisation of as-Sallámí's work, acknowledges that he had to omit many things for the sake of brevity. Since we do not possess the actual text of as-Sallámí we cannot exactly estimate the debt of al-ʿAwfí to him, but it is certain that al-ʿAwfí has presented the traditions 20 about these dynasties faithfully and has preserved for us, though without any coherent design or systematic classification, most of the prominent matters concerning the rulers of Khurásán not found in such detail in any of the above works.

(12). The *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafá'-i-baní'l-ʿAbbás* [1]).

This source mentioned under three titles.

This important history of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs is cited by al-ʿAwfí without the name of the author, under three slightly different titles, as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Dawlat-i-ʿAbbásiyán*, the *Ta'ríkh-i-Ál-i-ʿAbbás* and as mentioned above, in 10 anecdotes, which 25 range from the time of the Caliph al-Manṣúr to that of at-Muttaqí. A short summary of them is given below in chronological order, and approximate dates are supplied in order to establish the authorship of this work, and ascertain the exact nature of its contents. 30

Borrowed anecdotes.

(1). The assassination of Abú Muslim al-Khurásání, the benefactor of the ʿAbbásids, by the order of the Caliph al-Manṣúr in 137 A.H. = 754–5 A.D. (A. f 179*b*. I. xiii. 697).

(2). The appearance of the Imám Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣádiq before the Caliph al-Manṣúr during the persecution of the ʿAlíds in 144–5 A.H = 761–2 A.D. (D. f 169*a*. II. xx. 1475).

(3). The foundation of the city of Baghdád by the Caliph al-Manṣúr in 145 A.H. = 35 762 A D. (D. f 73*b*. IV. xviii. 1986).

(4). The rivalry of the Barmecides with ʿAbdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuzáʿí and their downfall at the hands of the Caliph Hárún in 187 A.H. = 803 A.D. (D. f 199*a*. III. ii. 1559).

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1) See *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 127–8. No. 2213, for other histories bearing similar titles.

(5). The arrest of Bakr b. Muʿtamir, and the coincident death of the Caliph Hárún in 193 A. H. = 809 A. D. (**C.** f 386*a*. IV. xii. **1914**) = *T. F. S.* pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 48–9.
(6). An account of the two public prosecutors of the time of the Caliph al-Ma'mún (**D.** f 240*a*. III. xiii. **1682**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 122–5.
(7). Fadhl b. Sahl's efforts to win over the Caliph al-Ma'mún, in favour of 'Alí b. Músá ar-Ridhá's succession to the Caliphate in 201 A. H. = 816-7 A. D. (**D.** f 163*a*. II. xviii. **1464**). 5
(8). The death of a favourite slave-girl of the Caliph al-Ma'mún at the shocking news of her master's death in 218 A. H. = 838 A. D. (**D.** f 36*b*. IV. x. **1895**).
(9). Máni-i-Muwaswas's prediction about the attack of Yaʿqúb b. al-Layth on Baghdád in 263 A. H. = 876 A. D. (**A.** f 239*a*. I. xxii. **1103**) 10
(10). The hostility of Abú ʿAbdi'llah al-Barídí, the Wazír, and Muḥammad Ibnu'r-Rá'iq the general of al-Muttaqí and the latter's assassination in 330 A. H. = 941–2 A. D. (**D.** f 173*a*. II. xxi. **1486**).

Other citations from aṣ-Ṣúlí.

Partly from the nature of the anecdotes mentioned above, and partly from incidental 15 correspondence of some other accounts of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs in the *Jawámiʿ* with references to and stray quotations from aṣ-Ṣúlí's works like the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* [1]), the *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'* [2]) and the *Adabu'l-Kuttáb* [3]), found in various biographical and historical works, *viz.*, the *Kitábu'l-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* [4]) and the *Nishwáru'l-Muḥádhara* [5]) of Abú ʿAlí Muḥassin at-Tanúkhí [6]), (d. 384 A. H. = 994 A. D.); the 20 fragments of the *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'* [7]) and of the Chronicle [8]) of Hilál [9]) b. Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣábí (d. 448 A. H. = 1056 A. D.); the latter part of the *Tajáribu'l-Umam* [10]) of Miskawayh [11]) (d. 421 A. H. = 1030 A. D.) and the parallel references supplied to this work in the footnotes, directly from the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* of aṣ-Ṣúlí; the *Muʿjamu'l-Buldán* [12]) and the *Irshádu'l-Aríb* of Yáqútu'l-Ḥamawí, the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* [13]) of 25 Ibnu'ṭ-Ṭiqṭaqa (composed in 701 A. H. = 1302 A. D.), and other works [14]), it can be

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1) A fragment of it about Ibnu'l-Muʿtazz is published by Mr. Ign. Kratchkovski of Petrograd, in Russian, in Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія (= ZVO). Vol. XXI, Pt. ii–iii. pp. 95–115.

2) Hilál b. Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣábí expresses an unfavourable opinion about this work in his own *Kitábu'l Wuzará'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (p. 2).

3) Edited by Muḥammad Bahjat al-Atharí of Baghdád (Cairo 1341 A. H.) with an introduction, which was kindly lent to the present writer by Mr. F. Krenkow.

4) Many anecdotes with and without acknowledgement are borrowed from aṣ-Ṣúlí, [see Notice No. **31**].

5) In the first part, edited and translated by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth (p. 145 Arabic text), aṣ-Ṣúlí tells a story about the Caliph ar-Rádhí.

6) *Y. I. A.*, Vol. VI, pp. 251–68, for his biography.

7) On pp. 219, 354, aṣ Ṣúlí is twice quoted.

8) Part of it is published along with his *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz.

9) *Ency. Islam*, Mr. F. Krenkow's article, "al-Ṣábí" Vol. IV, pp. 20–1, for a sketch of his life.

10) *Eclipse*, Vol. I, footnotes to pp. 268, 269, 291–3, 306, 307, 309, 310, 313, 316, 317, 319, 325, 331, 334, 337, 338, 348, 351, 352, 358, 360, 366, 373, 390–2, 406–8, 419–20. These quotations from the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* give an accurate idea of the end of the historical section.

11) See for a sketch of his life *Eclipse*, (Index), Vol. VII, Preface by Prof. Margoliouth pp. ii–viii. In his and Amedroz's opinion the debt of Miskawayh to aṣ-Ṣúlí is considerable.

12) *Y. M. B.*, Vol. I, p. 572; II, 706; III, 7, 213; IV, 133, 248, 306, 725, 732, 819, aṣ-Ṣúlí quoted concerning topics on poets. *Y. I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 114; V, p. 278.

13) Ed. Derenbourg, pp. 210, 250, 351, 363, 364, aṣ-Ṣúlí quoted concerning history of the ʿAbbásids.

14) Of Masʿúdí, Ibn Ẓáfir, Khaṭíb-i-Baghdádí, Ibnu'l-Jawzí, adh-Dhahabí and ʿAríb.

inferred that al-ᶜAwfí is alluding to the famous but partly preserved *Kitábu'l-Awráq fí Akhbári'l-Khulafá' wa'sh-Shuaᶜrá'*, also known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafá'-i-bani'l-ᶜAbbás* of Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. ᶜAbdu'llah b. al-ᶜAbbás aṣ-Ṣúlí ash-Shatranjí[1]), the boon companion of the Caliphs al-Muktafí (289–95 A. H. = 902–8 A. D.), al-Muqtadir (295–320 A. H. = 908–32 A. D.), and also the tutor of al-Radhí, (322–9 A. H. = 934–40 A. D.).

Ibnu'n-Nadím's account of aṣ-Ṣúlí.

According to Ibnu'n-Nadím, the first part of this work contained the history of the Caliphs to the end, (down to his own times), and the other part about their poetry was left unfinished. Probably this might be due to his flight from Baghdad which happened about 300 A. H., in connection with his having related a tradition about the Caliph ᶜAlí, which excited the wrath of the people. Ibn Khallikán says that he died in Baṣra in 335 or 336 A. H. = 946–7 A. D.

Partial agreement of facts with the citations from the *Kitábu'l-Awráq.*

As regard the citations from this work in the *Jawámiᶜ*, the last anecdote (No. 10) about the hostility of al-Barídí and Ibnu'r-Rá'iq brings the history to the times of al-Muttaqí (329–333 A. H. = 940–4 A. D.). Miskawayh[2]) under the events of the year 330 A. H. relates the account of the murder of Ibnu'r-Rá'iq, which corresponds in general with that given in this anecdote, but a little earlier than this event a direct quotation[3]) is found from aṣ-Ṣúlí's *Kitábu'l-Awráq* relating to the flight of Ibnu'r-Ra'iq in 325 A. H., which also partially agrees with the anecdote mentioned above. Another anecdote, (**D.** f 19*a*. IV. vi. **1840**), though without acknowledgement of the source, about the arrest of Abú ᶜAli ibn Muqla is related in the footnotes to the *Eclipse*[4]) which also bears some resemblance.

Probable indirect indebtedness of al-ᶜAwfí to aṣ-Ṣúlí.

Since we do not possess the actual text of the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* of aṣ-Ṣúlí we cannot establish the direct indebtedness of al-ᶜAwfí to him; but one striking instance of indirect borrowing is noticeable, which leads us to think that al-ᶜAwfí drew from the works originally based on the monumental work of aṣ-Ṣúlí; (*e. g.* No. 5) the arrest of Bakr b. Muᶜtamir and the coincident death of the Caliph Hárún, in which the *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafá'-i-bani'l-ᶜAbbás* is mentioned as the source, is also found in the *Faraj baᶜd a'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanúkhí, but for this anecdote we have no access to a parallel text of aṣ-Ṣúlí amongst the fragments enumerated below[5]).

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1) *Fihrist*, pp. 150–1; *Ansáb*, (facs.) p. 357: a fuller account of his life in *Ibn Khal.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 659; Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber* = *Wust. Gesch.* No. 115, followed by Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* Vol. I, p. 143; *Eclipse*, Vol. I, p. 9; *B. T. M.*, p. 755.

2) *Eclipse*, Vol. II, pp. 27–8. 3) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 373. 4) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 390–1.

5) The present writer's information about the extant fragments of the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* of aṣ-Ṣúlí is based on secondary sources, and mostly on Mr. Ign. Kratchkovski's article "On the description of the Mss. of Ibn Ṭayfúr and aṣ-Ṣúlí" in Russian ZVO., XXI, pp. 95–115, (see above, p. 48, *n.* 1), which was kindly translated for him by Mr. L. C. Wharton of the British Museum. These known fragments are arranged in the order in which the work is supposed to have been written by aṣ-Ṣúlí, from the data given in the *Fihrist* (pp. 150–1). The historical section dealing with the ᶜAbbásid Caliphs comes first, then the historico-literary section dealing with the history and poetry of the Ál-i-ᶜAbbás and other poets besides them. (Mss. used by Ign. Kratch. are marked with an asterisk, and the order of the Mss. is tentative.)

*i. Petrograd, Public Library Ms. [No. 60], Khannikov collection, contains the account of the end of the Caliphate of al-Wáthiq from 227 A. H. = 841 A. D. to the murder of al-Muhtadí in 256 A. H. = 869 A. D. (see Dorn, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. V, p. 244. St. Petersburg 1868 and Ign. Kratch.)

*ii. Cairo, Azhar Mosque Ms. [*Ta'rikh*, No. 443 and 6737] contains the chronological accounts from the year 295–318 A. H. = 907–930; thus covering almost the period of the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (d. 320 A. H. =

Result of Mr. Kratchkovski's investigation.

The present writer cannot do better than reproduce the remarks of Mr. Ign. Kratchkovski concerning the extant portions of the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* of aṣ-Ṣúlí with a view to a further intensive study of the work as wished by him. "The whole material to hand, represented by five fragments from the work of aṣ-Ṣúlí does not yet allow us to judge of the whole extent of the *Kitábu'l-Awráq*, although it gives more exact data than we had before [1]). The Ms. of al-Azhar [*Ta'ríkh* No. 443 and 6737], found by us, represents in its fullness one of the parts, a third or a fourth, while the previously known Mss. only give fragments. Thus the whole work, unfinished by the author, as is known from the *Fihrist* (p. 150) and from a note in the last part [2]) of the Khedivial Library Ms. [*Adab* No. 487 and 7083] f 180*b*, contained probably 5-6 tomes, of similarly solid extent to that of the Azhar Ms. [*Ta'ríkh* No. 443 and 6737]. This work was written, as it appears, during a long period by the author and simultaneously with other works: in the last part he speaks of the *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'* as a book already in existence [3]), while in one of the preceding ones he merely expresses the intention of writing it [4]). The general plan of the work agrees with what the author of the *Fihrist* wrote about it; after the history in the narrower sense in chronological order of the material, as is seen in the three accessible Mss., followed a historico-literary part, consecrated to the crowned and uncrowned poets, an anthology of their works, and biographical notes on them in systematic order. This second part also led

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932 A.D.). Unless this Ms. is compared with the next one, it cannot be ascertained with certainty whether it is really the 3rd or the 4th *juz* of the historical section of the *Awráq*. (see Ign. Kratch.)

iii. Constantinople Ms. Contains only the 3rd *juz*. O. Rescher who first discovered it does not give a descriptive account of this Ms. (see Mitteilungen aus Stambuler Bibliotheken, in the *Mélanges de la faculté orientale*, Tom. V², Beyrouth, 1912, p. 523, No. 2141).

iv. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. [Fonds Arabe 4836] contains the biography of the Caliph ar-Rádhí (322–329 A.H. = 934–940 A.D.). From the quotations in the *Eclipse*, supplied probably from this Ms. by H. F. Amedroz (see above p. 48, *n.* 10) it is obvious that this fragment represents the end of the historical section, which brings the account to his own times. (see G. Salmon, *Intro. Topog. Baghdádh*, p. 80, *n.* 3).

**v.* Petrograd, Rosen Ms. contains two independent treatises, one about the history and poetry of Ibráhím b. al-Mahdí and his sister 'Aliyya, and the other a fairly complete monograph on the history and poetry of 'Abdu'llah ibnu'l-Mu'tazz. This fragment probably forms a part of the historico-literary section dealing with the direct descendants of the Caliphs as the author of the *Fihrist* describes it (p. 150), (see Ign. Kratch.)

**vi.* Cairo, Khedivial Library Ms. [*Ta'ríkh* No. 594] contains accounts of poets presumably arranged in alphabetical order. Probably this fragment represents the last portion of the unfinished section of the *Awráq*, concerning poets. (see Prof. J. Horovitz's list "*Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus und Konstantinopel*", MSOS. X, ii, Berlin 1907. pp. 35–8; W. Barthold ZVO. XVIII, pp. 0148–0153, 1908; Zaydán II, 175; Khedivial Cat. Vol. V, p. 16.

**vii.* Cairo, Azhar Mosque Ms. [*Adab*, No. 487 and 7083], a modern transcript identical with the above No. *vi.* (see Ign. Kratch.)

viii. Ḥaydarábád Dakan, State Library Ms. [*Ta'ríkh*, *'Arabí*, No. 311] dated 1310 A.H. of hitherto unknown description, (see the *Fihrist-i-Kutub-Khána-i-Áṣafiyya*, (litho, 1332 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 180.

1) "The writer deduces his results from a comparison of the Khedivial and Petrograd Mss."

2) See J. Horovitz's article *op. cit.* p. 37.

3) *Ibid.* و قد استقصيت اخباره فى كتاب الوزراء الذى الّفته ، (f 144*b*).

4) See Ign. Kratch. قال ابوبكر و هذا شعر طويل حسن لا نذكر فى هذا الكتاب منه اكثر مما ذكر و يكمل فى كتاب الوزراء انشاء الله ، (f 92*b*)

astray H. Khalfa [1]) [and aṣ-Ṣafadí] [2]), who ascribed to aṣ-Ṣulí a special work, the *Akhbáru's-Shuʿará'*. For the identity of these works speaks the alphabetical order, to which H. Khalfa refers as well as aṣ-Ṣúlí [3]), and in particular that the work first appeared in H. Khalfa; neither the author of the *Fihrist* who gives a fairly complete list of the works, [especially a full description of the contents of the *Awráq*, based on personal observation [4])], nor Ibn Khallikán mentions it. However that may be, aṣ-Ṣúlí did not succeed in finishing the compilation of this second part before his death, only giving monographs on poets of ruling dynasties and some others not belonging to them. At the present time, therefore, we possess five fragments [5]) of his *Kitábu'l-Awráq*; three from the historical part: 1. Cairo (*ii*) = (?) Constantinople (*iii*), 2. Paris (*iv*), 3. Petrograd (*i*); and two from the historico-literary: 4. Cairo (*vi*), 5. Petrograd (*v*). Sooner or later this work will attract the intensive study of Arabists; if the author succeeds in any degree in awakening the coming generation of scholars to this, he will consider the aim of the present note attained."

(13). The *Ta'rikhu't-Ṭabari* [6]).

Indications of the material for these chapters.

The Annals [7]) of Abú Jaʿfar Muḥammad [8]) b. Jarír aṭ-Ṭabarí (b. 224 d. 310 A. H. = 838–923 A. D.), fully entitled the *Ta'rikhu'r-Rusul-i-wa'l-Mulúk*, is mentioned with its short title as *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabari* twenty times in the *Jawámiʿ*. Almost all these citations occur in Pt. I, ch. iv, "On the Ancient Kings of Persia" and ch. v, "On the Accounts of the Caliphs." In the introduction [9]) to ch. iv, al-ʿAwfí has given us

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1) Vol. I, p. 187, No. 203; also *Wust. Gesch.* 37, No. 115, 3. Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 143, No. 5.

2) *Journal Asiatique.* Series 10. Tom. XIX, (1912) p. 286, No. 226: احبار الشعراء مرتّب على المعجم للصّولى

3) See J. Horovitz's p. 37. (f 95*b*) «قال ابو بكر محمّد بن يحيى الصولى قد صرت من كتاب الخلفآء و هو كتاب الاوراق الى ذكر الشعرآء الذين اوّل اسماءهم الف»

4) See *Fihrist* pp. 150–1. «كتاب الاوراق فى اخبار الخلفآء و الشعرآء و لم يتمّه و الذى خرج منه اخبار الخلفآء بأسرها و اشعار اولاد الخلفآء و ايّامهم من السفّاح الى ايّام ابن المعتزّ اشعار من بقى من بنى العبّاس ممّن ليس بخليفة و لا ابن خليفة لصُلْبه و اوّل ذلك شعر عبد الله بن علىّ و آخره شعر ابى احمد محمّد بن احمد بن اسمٰعيل بن ابراهيم بن عيسى بن المنصور و يتلو ذلك اشعار الطالبيّين ولد الحسن و الحسين و ولد العبّاس بن علىّ و ولد عمر بن علىّ و ولد جعفر بن ابى طالب ثمّ تلى ذلك اشعارُ ولد الحارث بن عبد المطّلب و بعد اخبار ابن هرمة و مختار شعره اخبار السيّد الحميرى و مختار شعره اخبار احمد بن يوسف و مختار شعره اخبار سُديف و مختار شعره و هذا الكتاب عوّل عند تاليفه على كتاب المربدى(a) فى الشعر و الشعرآء بل نقله نقلا و انتحله و قد رايت دستور الرجل فى خزانة الصولى فافتضح به»

(*a*) Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 129; also *Y. I. A.* Vol. II, p. 57–8, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marthadí.

5) The order of the fragments adopted by the present writer, (as shown above on p. 49, *n.* 5), is indicated after the names of the places.

6) *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 136, No. 2250.

7) Edited by M. J. de Goeje and others, Leyden (see de Goeje's preface and Introduction and his article in *Ency. Brit.* XI edition, Vol. II, Arabia: Historical Literature pp. 273–6); and for the portions in question see Prof. Th. Nöldeke's 'Einleitung' to *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt*, Leyden 1897. (= *Tabari-Übersetzung*).

8) *Y. I. A.* Vol. VI, pp. 423–63, a biographical sketch of aṭ-Ṭabarí based on contemporary sources.

9) (A. f 46*b*—f 47*a* = E. f 12*b*. I. iv. *Int.* 119) «علماى تاريخ در ذكر ملوك جهان و خسروان گيهان تواريخ ساخته اند و مصنّفات پرداخته و در اكثر ان دُرد با صاف ممزوج است و دروغ با راست مخلط ..... و اگرچه ذكر جملهٔ ملوك كه بعد از عهد

sufficient clues about his material for this and the next chapter, and in two other places [1]) he has indicated the nature of the utilisation of this and other works, such as the *Ghurar* and the *Ta'ríkh i-Maqdisí* discussed later on.

Observations on other combined sources.

From the three quotations given in the footnotes, it is to be remarked that, firstly, al-ʿAwfí had at his disposal other works besides the Annals of aṭ-Ṭabarí, and that he utilised them according to his own discretion with a sparing mention of the sources; secondly, the Persian Translations of the Annals and the *Ghurar* were known to him. Although in the first instance there is no direct mention of the translation of ʿAbú ʿAlí al-Balʿamí, yet, probably, the emphasis on the word خویش along with the title of aṭ-Ṭabarí's work in this and several other citations, and two other vague allusions to a *Ta'ríkh-i-Tází*, indicate the utilisation of the Arabic original rather than the Persian version of al-Balʿamí. The latter fact is also confirmed by a textual comparison of similar anecdotes both in al-Balʿamí's version and the *Jawámiʿ* with the original, and by the separate method of division of the longer accounts in the Chapter on Persian Kings; thus we do not find any indebtedness of al-ʿAwfí to Balʿamí's version. In the case of the *Ra'y-Áráy* [2]), the Persian Translation of the *Ghurar* [2]), we do not possess the Persian text, hence our inability to estimate the exact nature of the debt of al-ʿAwfí to this version. Regarding the *Ta'ríkh-i-Maqdisí* [1]), although this quotation about the terrible fate of the two sons of Jaʿfar and ʿAbbása is not traceable, yet there are besides these other citations in which al-ʿAwfí has shown something in the nature of a combined utilisation.

Purport of the anecdotes.

The following is a summary of the quotations in which the *Ta'ríkh-i-Ṭabarí* is mentioned.

(1) Dhaḥḥák's tyranny relaxed at the protest of the people of Babylon. (**A.** f 48*b*. I. iv. **127**) = *Ṭab.* I, 204–5.

(2) Recognition of Ashk, the son of Dárá the great, by the Tribal Kings. (**A.** f 67*a*. I. iv. **155**) = *Ṭab.* [3]) I, 704–5, cf. *Gh.* [3]) pp. 456, 473.

(3) Ardashír's final victory over Arduwán. (**A.** f 68*a*. I. iv. **157**) = *Ṭab.* I, 819, cf. *Gh.* pp. 479–80.

آدم صفیّ علیه السّلام بوده اند امکان ندارد فامّا ازیشان انچه مشهورند و محمّد جریر طبری در تاریخ خویش ذکر ایشان کرده است و ثعالبی ــر غُرَرْ و سِیَرْ نام ایشان برده و ذکر ایشان بر سبیل ایجاز و اختصار گفته آمد»

[1]) (A. f 76*a* = B. f 45*b* = C. f 116*b* = E. f 57*b*—f 58*a* = G. f 48*b*. I. iv. 183) «و در کتاب رای آرای که ترجمهٔ غُرَرْ و سِیَرْ ست همچنین نقل کرده شده است و در تاریخ طبری هم بدین معنی اشارت کرده امّا مؤلّف کتاب می‌گوید که در تاریخی (a) دیگر مطالعه افتاد، است که مزدك را انوشروان در ایّام حیات قباد کشت و دران حیلتی سخت لطیف تقدیم نمود و این حکایت (b) در همین کتاب یاد کرده خواهد شد»

(A. f 107*a* = C. f 149*a* = E. f 109*a*. I. v. 302) «چون رشید حج بگزارد پسران عبّاسه را پیش خواند و آن دو دانهٔ دُر خوشاب را که در لطافت و طراوت آب گوهر کالی برده بودند بدید و اگرچه دلش بر ایشان می سوخت فامّا سیاست سلطنت غالب آمد و در تاریخ طبری آورده است که ایشان را بکشت ومقدسی آورده است که هر دو را در چاه انداخت»

(*a*—*b*) See Notice Nos. (1) a, (26) regarding (D. f 220*b*. III. viii. 1623), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 166–81.

[2]) See Notices Nos (22), (30), (15), for further details.

[3]) *Tab.*, *Gh.* are the abbreviations used in this notice for the *Ta'ríkhu'r-Rusul* ed. by De Goeje and for the *Ghurar* of ath-Thaʿálibí ed. by Zotenberg respectively.

(4) The account of the birth of Shápúr. (A. f 69*a*. I. iv. 158) = *Ṭab.* I, 823–5; cf. *Gh.* pp. 473–82.
(5) Hurmuz cuts off his hand to remove his father's suspicion. (A f 69*b*. I. iv. 160) = *Ṭab.* I, 833.
(6) Short period of Bahrám III's reign. (A. f 70*b*. I. iv. 164) = *Ṭab.* I, 835; cf. *Gh.* pp. 507–8. 5
(7) Shápúr disgraces the Qayṣar of Rúm. (A. f 70*b*. I. iv. 167) = *Ṭab.* I, 845; cf. *Gh.* p. 528.
(8) Extermination of the Mazdakites by Núshírwán in his own reign. (A. f 75*b*. I. iv. 183) = *Ṭab.* I, 893–4; cf. *Gh.* 603–5, also *B. A. B.* p. 209. 10
(9) Defeat of Parwíz at the hands of Bahrám Chúbín. (A. f 76*b*. I. iv. 185) = *Ṭab.* I, 1000.
(10) Flight of Bahrám Chúbín and Parwíz's final history. (A. f 78*a*. I. iv. 186) = *Ṭab.* I, 1000.
(11) The cause of Ázarmídukht's murder. (A. f 81*a*. I. iv. 193) = *Ṭab.* I, 1064–5; cf. *Gh.* pp. 736–7.
(12) The Caliph ʿUmar's comparison of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad with the ascension of Jesus Christ (A. f 82*b*. I. v. 197). = *Ṭab.* I, 1815–6, where it is interpreted as parallel to the Translation of Moses. In the *Jawámiʿ* there is a misquotation as well as a complete refutation of this comparison, with an explanation of the Caliph's words and the situation at that moment. 15
(13) Khálid b. Walíd's killing of Málik b. Nuwayra the Musaylimite, regarded in *Ṭabari* as the cause of dissension between the Caliphs Abú Bakr and ʿUmar. (A. f 83*a*. I. v. 200) = *Ṭab.* I, 1924–5, 1926–9. The last version is adopted by al-ʿAwfí. 20
(14) ʿAmr b. Saʿíd b. al-ʿÁṣ al-Ashdaq and ʿAbdu'llah b. Zubayr as rival claimants to the Caliphate in the time of Marwán b. Ḥakam. (A. f 97*b*. I. v. 252) = *Ṭab.* II, 576.
(15) Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik the Umayyad's benevolence towards the ʿAlids. (A. f 99*b*. I. v. 261) = *Ṭab.* II, 1338. 25
(16) The killing of the two sons of Jaʿfar and ʿAbbása. (A. f 107*a*. I. v. 303) = *Ṭab.* III, 676–7.
(17)[1] The poisoning[2] of the Imám Ḥasan. (A. f 176*b*. I. xiii. 684).
(18) Prediction of the historian aṭ-Ṭabarí about the unsettled affairs of the Caliphate and Ibnu'l-Muʿtazz who was much ahead of his times. (A. f 114*b*. I. v. 337). 30
(19) The Caliph al-Ma'mún's efforts to suppress the rumours afloat in Baghdád after his advent, and the story of the Caliph and the Miller. (D. f 181*a*. II. xxiii. 1510).
(20) The Caliph Hárún's consideration for the Qáḏhí Abú Yúsuf and the preparation of a special daily dish for him. (D. f 5*b*. IV. i. 1794). 35

Nature of the Utilisation of the *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabari* in the *Jawámiʿ*.

From the nature of the citations from the *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabari* it can be inferred that al-ʿAwfí makes a particular mention of this source whenever there is a material difference of tradition regarding the particular event or whenever he wants to support his own statement. In the account of the ancient kings of Persia, he has omitted the

1) No. 17 is untraceable; No. 18 reference to the historian only; in Nos. 19 and 20 the source is uncertain as the readings differ, probably referring to the *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabari* as *Ta'rikh-i-Tází*.

2) Cf. Abu'l-Faraj Iṣfahání's *Maqátilu'ṭ-Ṭálibiyyín*, (Ṭihrán litho. 1037 A.H.) pp. 29–30. Cf. *Kitábu'l-Maʿárif*, (= *Q. K. M.*) p. 108, and *Maqdisi*, ed. Huart, Vol. V, p. 238, which give 49, 47 A.H. as the year of his death resp.

parallel accounts given in *aṭ-Ṭabarí* and the *Ghurar* about the ancient prophets and other Arabian kings, and has represented the tradition regarding the Persian kings as based on Arabic rather than on the original Persian sources, as in the case of Ibn Qutayba, Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Iṣfahání or the anonymous author of the *Mujmal* or Firdawsí [1]). The account of the Persian kings is in general based on the plan of the 5 *Ghurar*, rather than on that of *aṭ-Ṭabarí*. These acknowledged citations are very short, but there are other anecdotes about the Caliphs which are entirely based on *aṭ-Ṭabarí*; in these al-ʿAwfí has cut short longer accounts, dropped the chain of tradition, and omitted other interesting particulars, and in places blended the different accounts into one single narrative, and retained bare events regarding the lives of the Caliphs, 10 which can be found in any ordinary handbook on the Caliphs. Only in the latter portion of this chapter, when the accounts approach his time, he gives valuable information regarding the rise of the various dynasties, while the Caliphate was on the decline.

(14). The *Ta'ríkh-i Masháʾikh-i-Khurásán* [2]).

An unidentifiable source.

This work is mentioned only once, and its identification is extremely difficult. From 15 the nature of the anecdote and the connection in which it is cited the work appears to be different from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* discussed previously in Notice No. (11). The anecdote which is borrowed from this source is that of a disciple of Abú Ḥámid Aḥmad b. Khidhrawayh al-Balkhí, the famous Ṣúfí saint (d. *circa* 240 A. H. = 854 A. D.), at whose prayer a bucket of water rose from the bottom of the well automatically, 20 (**A.** [3]) f 42*a* = **B.** f 21*b* = **G.** f 22*a*. I. iii. 97). It is quite likely that the next anecdote might have also been taken from the same source, though it is not mentioned in any Ms.: the visit of the Shaykh Abú Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Maslama al-Ḥaddád (d. *circa* 264 A. H. = 877 A. D.) to the Shaykh Abú ʿUthmán al-Ḥírí (d. *circa* 298 A. H. = 910 A. D.) and his historic reception by the latter in his own convent, and the burning 25 of nineteen lamps, which resulted in the conversion of a family of Jews at the hand of the latter Shaykh (**A.** f 42*a*. I. iii. 98). These accounts are not found in the *Risála* of Qushayrí; it is possible that al-ʿAwfí is alluding to the *Ta'ríkh* of al-Ḥákim [4]) an-Níshápúrí (d. 403 A. H.) or of Abú Naṣr al-Marwazí.

(15). The *Ta'ríkh-i-Maqdisí* [5]).

Correct identification of this source.

The source mentioned above is no other than the *Kitábu'l-Badʾi wa't-Ta'ríkh* 30 of Muṭahhar b. Ṭáhir al-Maqdisí, composed in 355 A. H. = 965–6 A. D. This work was for a long time regarded as the composition of Abú Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhí;

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1) See Notice No. (16).

2) See *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 127, No. 2210 where other histories of Khurásán are enumerated.

3) A. E. omit the source mentioned above.

4) *Ansáb.* (facs.) p. 574*a*; *Ibn Khal.* (Wüst.) Biog. No. 626; *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 155, No. 2333.

5) *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire* de Moṭahhar ben Ṭáhir el-Maqdisí attribué a Abou-Zéïd Aḥmed ben Sahl el-Balkhí, publié et traduit par M. Cl. Huart, Paris, Arabic Text (= *M. K. B.*). See Prefaces, Vol. II, ix; III, v–vii, where other references are given concerning the authorship; also JRAS. (1901) pp. 159–61.

in fact, the first two volumes of M. Clément Huart's edition appeared under the name of Abú Zayd. As early as 1883, C. Schefer[1]) had noticed a few extracts of this work in the *Bayánu'l-Adyán*; it was Hermann Zotenberg[2]) who discovered a passage in the *Ghurar* of ath-Thaʿálibí quoted from this history (Vol. III, p. 157), about Manes, and perfectly established the right authorship. 5

Acknowledged citations.

There are three acknowledged citations from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Maqdisí* in the *Jawámiʿ*; the first one happens to be the same on which the discovery of Zotenberg was based, the second is not traceable, and the third is entirely based on the version of al-Maqdisí, regarding the origin, rise, and rebellion of Bábak al-Khurramí. The following are the anecdotes taken from this work: 10

(1) Manes as the founder of Zindiqism and his followers who in later times were called Báṭinís (Esoterics). (**A.** f 70*a*. I. iv. **162**) = *Gh.* p. 501 = *M. K. B.* Vol III, p. 157.
(2) The fate of the two sons of Jaʿfar the Barmecide and ʿAbbása. (**A.** f 107*a*. I. v. **303**).
(3) The origin, rise, and rebellion of Bábak al-Khurramí. (**A.** f 110*b*. I. v. **315**). *M. K. B.* Vol. IV, pp. 114–6. 15

Importance of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Maqdisí*.

The authority of al-Maqdisí (d. 375 A. H. = 985 A. D.) on the origin of important historical events has been recognised from the earliest times; especially the quotations No. (1) and (3), which are concerned with two important persons in the history of the heretical movements in Persia, contain independent and original matter. Although the accounts of them given by aṭ-Ṭabarí were written nearly 50 years earlier, al-Maqdisí 20 appears to have adopted quite a different source. Particularly Bábak's private life, which is quoted in the *Jawámiʿ* from al-Maqdisí, is also found in detail in the *Fihrist* (pp. 342–4), which was written nearly 25 years later than al-Maqdisí's work, and differs essentially from aṭ-Ṭabarí's version (III, 1171–9).

(16). The *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-ʿAjam.*

Difficulties regarding the identification of these works.

The identification of this work and four others of a similar nature viz., the 25 *Kitáb-i-Áyín-i-Mulúk*, the *Ta'ríkh-i-Akásira*, the *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* and the *Waṣáyá-i-Ardashír* which are mentioned as the sources of the anecdotes of which the purport is given below, is beset with many difficulties. Firstly, the names of the authors are not mentioned and the titles are uncertain; secondly, none of these works has come down to us in its original form, language, and version; thirdly, there are diverse 30 statements given by earlier authorities who utilised them regarding the different versions of some of them; fourthly, the criticism of these works by Oriental scholars is mostly based on conjectural grounds; and lastly, al-ʿAwfí's knowledge about them seems to be secondary. In so far as they are represented by quotations in the *Jawámiʿ*, an attempt is made in this notice to discuss briefly each of them and where possible to identify them. 35

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1) *Chrestomathie Persane*, Vol. I, pp. 136–8.
2) *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, par Aboû Manṣoûr ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Moḥammad ibn Ismâʿîl al-Thaʿâlibî, texte Arabe publié et traduit par H. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, Arabic Text (= *Ghurar*) preface pp. xxi–xxii. See for a review of it by Prof. Browne, JRAS. (1901) pp. 161–4.

Purport of the anecdotes in which they occur.

The following are the accounts borrowed from these works:

(1) The various qualities which determined the rank and social status of the officials under the various Persian kings from the time of Jamshíd to Núshírwán, as recorded in the *Kitáb-i-Áyín-i-Mulúk*, and recounted before an anonymous Caliph. (A. f 127*b*. I. vii. 402).

(2) The peaceful reign of Yazdijird b. Bahrám Gúr, as recorded in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*, and his four pithy sayings appreciated in the court of the Caliph al-Manṣúr. (A. f 139*a*. I. viii. 476).

(3) Bahrám Gúr's skill in the art of shooting arrows as exhibited before Nu'mán b. Mundhir, drawn from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 141*a*. II. xii. 1391).

(4) How Gushtásp during his exile in Constantinople, maintained himself by earning his own livelihood, and his public order for learning handicrafts after being restored to his Persian kingdom, drawn from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 203*a*. III. iv. 1572).

(5) The story of the forbidden dish and the Kisrá's admonition to the ungrateful guest, who betrayed the secret of his host, drawn from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 261*a*. III. xix. 1721).

(6) Núshírwán punishes, after his coronation, the courtiers who took the same liberty with him as before it, taken from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 8*a*. IV. ii. 1804).

(7) An interview between a king and a sage, and the latter's reference to the *Akhbár-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam* concerning the remark of Núshírwán about the safety of his own person from the attack of enemies, and its being due to the protection which he offered to his own subjects. (D. f 10*b*. IV. iii. 1812).

(8) The reason of the preference of al-Ma'mún over al-Amín, as shown to Zubayda by the Caliph Hárún through a practical test of their capabilities, in which an incidental reference to the *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* occurs, which the precocious al-Ma'mún always used to study. (D. f 184*b*. II. xxiii. 1517).

(9) An account drawn from the *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* concerning the Land of Women in the desert of the Maghrib near the Moving Sands. (D. f 71*a*. IV. xvii. 1976).

(10) An observation from the *Waṣáyá-i-Ardashír* is recited by Aḥmad by Naṣr the Sámánid on the eve of his immediate action against the rebellious governor of Sanjáb in contrast to the negligence of his Wazír Abu'l-Fadhl al-Bal'amí, enjoining the precautions which a king should observe, first about the safety of his throne, then his court, then his palace, then his capital, then his subjects, and then the boundaries of his kingdom. (P. f 261*b*. II. xvii. 1450).

(11) An observation from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Akásira* is brought forward by Núshírwán to bear upon his decision regarding the characteristic craftiness of a dwarf. (D. f 194*a*. III. i. 1543).

Discussion on the anecdote taken from the *Áyín-i-Mulúk*.

In the anecdote preceding No. (1) occurs a passage (A. f 127*b*. I. vii. 401) in which 'Abdu'llah b. al-Muqaffa' speaks of his own efforts in recasting[1]) the philosophical books which he found in the treasury of the kings of Persia, and goes on to describe the ten virtues inherited from Kayúmarth, the mythical ancestor of the Persian kings, and acted upon by his descendants to the time of Yazdijird, which

[1]) Cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 118, 305; *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 151–2.

established the superiority of the Persian kings over other rulers of their times. And the anecdote in which the *Áyín-i-Mulúk* is mentioned as the source, recounts the various qualities which determined the rank and social status of the officials. A parallel text of the latter account is also found in the *Ghurar*[1]) of ath-Tha'álibí (pp. 14-5), where the *Kitábu'l-Áyín* is also mentioned as the source, but the anecdote in the *Jawámi'* is told before a Caliph and is set in a different manner, from which we can infer that at least the *Ghurar* is not the direct source; nor does it correspond with any of the citations from the *Kitábu'l-Áyín* in the *'Uyúnu'l-Akhbár*[2]); hence it is likely that al-'Awfí may have utilised a source in which this anecdote occurs in a much later setting.

Other citations from the Kitábu'l-Áyín in the 'Uyúnu'l-Akhbár.

Other quotations from the *Kitábu'l-Áyín* occur in the *'Uyúnu'l-Akhbár* of Ibn Qutayba without acknowledgement of the author of the *Áyín*. Ibn Qutayba's knowledge of this work is first-hand, as he says he has read such and such in the *Kitábu'l-Áyín*[3]) and quotes from it directly. One of the quotations is interesting on account of the changes which it has undergone. This is a short and sententious saying from the speech of an anonymous king regarding his policy of administration. In the *'Iqdu'l-Faríd*[4]) this same quotation is ascribed to Ardashír, and in the *Jawámi'* a story is built on it. It occurs as a reply of Núshírwán written in response to a mischievous representation of certain courtiers about others whom they suspected of evil intentions against the king (**A.** f 146*b*. I. x. **529**). Unfortunately the source of this anecdote is not mentioned in the *Jawámi'* and only a part of this saying is translated, so we do not know the intermediate stages it passed through, before it assumed the form in which it occurs in the *Jawámi'*.

Its identification with the Kitábu'l-Áyín of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'.

al-Mas'údí in his *Kitábu't-Tanbíh wa'l-Ishráf*[5]) (p. 104) is the only author who describes the *Áyín-náma* and differentiates it (p. 106) from the *Khudáy-náma* and another anonymous large and illustrated work[6]) of encyclopaedic information on the history of the Persian kings, which he happened to see in Iṣṭakhr in 303 A. H.. As Zotenberg[7]) asserts, it is quite likely that the long extracts concerning the social hierarchy of the Persian court and of the Marzubáns in the *Murúju'dh-Dhahab*[8]) may have been drawn from the *Áyín-náma*, since these details and the definition of the work given by al-Mas'údí, as a book of the customs and conventions of Persian society, point in this direction; but unfortunately he does not mention the name of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' as the translator of this work. For the identification of this work with that of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' mentioned in the *Fihrist* (p. 118, *l.* 27), our information rests on Ibnu'n-Nadím and Ibn Qutayba. The former mentions various *Áyín-námas*[9]) but it is likely that as Victor

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1) *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, Préface p. xxxiii.

2) Ed. C. Brockelmann (= *Q. U. A.*), pp. 24-5, 83-4, 139-43, 144, 165-6, 166-7, 186-9.

3) *Q. U. A.* pp. 24-25: قرأتُ في كتاب الآيين أنّ بعضَ ملوكِ العجم قال في خطبةٍ له إنّي إنّما أملِكُ الأجسادَ لا النِّيّاتِ و أحكُمُ بالعدلِ لا بالرِّضا و أفحصُ عن الأعمالِ لا عن السّرائرِ،

4) Cf. Vol. I, 10, *ll.* 23-25.

5) Ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bib. Geog. Arab. Vol. VIII (= *M. T. I.*)

6) A full description of this royal album is given by al-Mas'údí.

7) *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, Préface, p. xxiii; cf. also *Kitábu't-Táj* of al-Jáḥiẓ pp. 23 *n.* 3; 23-29.

8) Edited and translated by Barbier de Meynard (= *M. M. Dh.*), Vol. II, pp. 152-5; 240-1.

9) *Fihrist* p. 314, *l.* 21; p. 305, *l.* 12; p. 138, *l.* 3.

Rosen [1]) affirms, the كتاب الآيين في الاصر mentioned under the works of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa, the character and the nature of which are in agreement with the definition of al-Mas‘údí and with the quotations in the *‘Uyúnu'l-Akhbár*, is the work in question, which formed an indirect source of al-‘Awfí.

Identity of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-‘Ajam.*

Of the six anecdotes, Nos. (2) to (7), in which the *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-‘Ajam* is cited, two deal with Bahrám Gúr, one with Gushtásp, another with the Kisrá (probably Núshírwán) and the other two with Núshírwán; hence they give us a clue to the utilisation of a work, which in general contained an account of historical events, at least from the time of Gushtásp to Núshírwán. As regard the identification of this work, serious difficulties come in our way; but similar quotations in the *‘Uyúnu'l-Akhbár* [2]) and the *Kitábu'l-Ma‘árif* [3]) of Ibn Qutayba, from a *Siyaru'l-‘Ajam* and from another anonymous work, which is identified by Nöldeke [4]) and Rosen [5]) as the Arabic Translation of the *Khudáy-náma* by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa‘, lead us to think that this work is meant here. But as early as 350 A. H., we know through Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Iṣfahání [6]) that at least eight Arabic versions of the *Khudáy-náma* existed. Of all these the celebrated but unfortunately lost version of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa‘ is the one that has been most used by subsequent writers. References to the existence of this version and stray accounts from it are found as late as the 6th century A. H. or 12th A. D.

Critical studies on the *Khudáy-náma* in connection with various works.

Much light has been thrown on the origin, contents and versions of this important source for the ancient history of Persia, the *Khudáy-náma*, by various Oriental scholars, *viz.*, Wallenbourg [7]), Turner Macan [8]), Quatremère [9]), Jules Mohl [10]), Th. Nöldeke [11]), Victor Rosen [12]), H. Zotenberg [13]), E. Mittwoch [14]), and many important points have been elucidated from the extracts from this work, in connection with Ibnu'l-Muqaffa‘ (d. *circa* 760 A. D.), al-Jáḥiẓ [15]) (d. 869 A. D.), Ibn Qutayba (d. 889 A. D.), ad-Dinawarí (d. 895/6 A. D.), al-Ya‘qúbí (d. 900 A. D.), the Patriarch of Alexandria Sa‘íd

1) *Mélanges Asiatiques* (St. Petersbourg) Tome VIII (1881) pp. 775–6.

2) *Q. U. A.* pp. 24, 27, 30, 59, 67, 138–9, 143, 183–4, قرأت في بعض كتب العجم. pp. 121–2, 146–52, 216, قرأت في سير العجم.

3) Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (1850) (= *Q. K. M.*) p. 320.

4) *Tabari-Übersetzung*, Einleitung p. xxi.

5) *Mélanges Asiatiques* (St. Petersbourg) Tome VIII, pp. 775, 777.

6) The *Ta'ríkh-i-Siní Mulúki'l-Arḍ-i-wa'l-Anbiyá'* (Kaviani press, Berlin 1340 A. H.) (= *H. T. S.*) pp. 9–10.

7) *Notice sur le Schàh'-namé de Ferdoussi*, etc. Vienna (1810).

8) Edition of the *Shah Nameh*: Introduction, Vol. I, for the Báysunqurian Persian preface pp. ١١–١٧.

9) *Journal Asiatique* (New series) Tome XVI, pp. 532–4.

10) *Le Livre des Rois*, Paris 1838. Vol. I. Preface, pp. x, xii, xvi, xiv, lii, also *Journal Asiatique* (1841) Introduction to 'Extraits du Modjmel-al-Tewarikh', pp. 5–7.

11) *Tabari-Ubersetzung*, Einleitung pp. xiv–xxv, also *Das iranische Nationalepos*, in *G. I. P.* Band II, pp. 142–6.

12) *Mélanges Asiatiques* tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Tome VIII, (1881). "Zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte der älteren Zeit", Ibn Quteiba: *Kitáb ‘Ujûn al-akhbâr*, pp. 773–7; also *Vostochnia zamietke* (1895) St. Petersbourg: On the question of the Arabic Translation of the *Khudáy-náma*, pp. 153 et. seq.

13) *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, Préface, pp. xxiii, xli–xliii.

14) *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, Band XII, Abt. ii, Berlin (1909), p. 122: "Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahânîs".

15) See Aḥmad Zakí Pásha's *Taqdír* to the *Kitábu't-Táj* (1914).

b. Biṭríq or Eutychius (d. 939 A. D.), aṭ-Ṭabarí[1] (d. 923 A. D.), al-Mas'údí (d. 956 A. D.), Abú Manṣúr al-Ma'marí and Abú Manṣúr b. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq the lord of Ṭús, identified as Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq the lord of Ṭús (r. 945–960 A. D.), Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Iṣfahání (d. 961 or 971 A. D.), Ibnu'n Nadím (d. 995 A. D.), Firdawsí (d. 1020 or 1025 A. D.), ath-Tha'álibí (d. 1037 A. D.), al-Bírúní[2] (d. 1048 A. D.), Abu'l-Fadhl al 5 Bayhaqí[3] (d. 1077/8 A. D.) and the anonymous author of the *Mujmalu't-Tawáríkh* (composed about 1126 A. D.)[4].

Various problems connected with the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam.*

In the past as well in modern times, the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*, variously designated as the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulúki'l-Furs*, *Ta'rikh-i-bani-Sásán*, or the *Siyar-i-Mulúki'l 'Ajam* has been the subject of discussion, on account of its importance as 10 an original source for the antiquities, legends, history, literature and civilization of the ancient Persian kingdom, but the identity and differentiation of the various versions of this work have been based on hypothetical grounds; and unless an extract from the original Pahlawí text of the work and a corresponding Arabic translation of it are happily discovered, we cannot really establish the exact relation of the former to the 15 latter versions. Till then our conclusions for the most part will remain conjectural: for instance, concerning the thorny problems of the Dihqán-i-dánishwar, the prose version of the *Sháhnáma* prepared for Abú Manṣúr b. Abdu'r-Razzáq, the nature of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa''s translation from the original work, the different versions mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahání and the relation of one to another, the work which formed the 20 real basis of Firdawsí's *Sháhnáma*, and the partial genuineness of the Báysunqurian preface. Prof. Nöldeke in the articles mentioned above has discussed these points thoroughly, but where data are not available he had to depend on historical reasoning.

References to the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí.

Three incidental references to the *Sháhnáma* occur in the *Jawámi'*, in one of which the name of Firdawsí is also mentioned (**A.** f 50*a*. I. iv. **130**). There appears to 25 be no evidence of direct utilisation, as there are no citations of verses from the *Sháhnáma*; whereas other verses from unknown sources are found in the chapter on the ancient kings of Persia. Besides this, these references are given simply by way of representing the incredible views of the Persians on the legendary history of their kings, and the *Sháhnáma* being the highest representative of their national epic is 30 referred to for further details; thus occasional resemblances are noticeable.

(1) The origin of the name of Minúchihr. (**A.** f 50*a*. I. iv. **130**).

(2) The legend of the Birth of Zál and of the Símurgh. (**A.** f 51*a*. I. iv. **131**).

(3) The Haft Khwán of Isfandiyár. (**A.** f 61*b*. I. iv. **144**).

The other three similar works mentioned in the *Jawámi'*.

The *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* which is mentioned in (No. 8) in connection with the Caliph 35 al-Ma'mún is likely to be the work to which Ḥamza al-Iṣfahání refers as one that was acquired from the library of al-Ma'mún, but no extract occurs in the *Jawámi'*. In the anecdote (No. 9) in **P.** f 387*b*, Sha'bí[5] is mentioned as the author of the work, but other Mss. omit it, so the identity of this work also remains uncertain. The *Waṣáyá-i-Ardashir* referred to in (No. 10), from which a quotation regarding the precautions 40

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1) Cf. I, p. 707. 2) *B. A. B.*, p. 99. 3) Ed. W. N. Lees, p. 116.

4) Particulars about individual Arabic and Persian authors cited here will be found in the critical works mentioned above in the footnotes to p. 58. 5) Cf. *Q. A. B.* p. 413, *l.* 5.

enjoined upon kings for their protection is given, appears to be the same work which occurs anonymously in the instructions of Ardashír in the *ʿUyúnu'l-Akhbár*. Then the *Ta'ríkh-i-Akásira* mentioned in (No. 11) is probably an early Pahlawí text which existed in the time of Núshírwán in the form of an official summary of the history of the Sásánid kings. 5

Sources of other similar anecdotes unassignable.

Besides the above-mentioned anecdotes there are several others unascribed which are likely to have been drawn from similar sources, for we find in them partial agreement with others extant; for instance, several anecdotes concerning the ancient Persian customs, method of administration or speeches or replies of the various kings agree sometimes with certain passages in the *ʿUyúnu'l-Akhbár*, and at other times with the accounts 10 given in *Ṭabarí*, or in Thaʿálibí's *Ghurar*. The absence of sources in such cases, and the mixing up of various versions of the same story to shape out an anecdote in order to suit his chapter-headings, and the utilisation of secondary sources by al-ʿAwfí make it impossible for us to determine their exact sources; but in the connected accounts of the Persian kings in pt. I, ch. iv the case is otherwise, as will 15 be noticed later on in connection with the *Ghurar* [1]).

(17) a. The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* [2]) b. The *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní* [3])

Reasons for treating these two sources simultaneously.

These two sources, although representing two distinct works, the former that of Abu'l-Fadhl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqí [4]), who was born about 386 A. H. = 996 A. D., composed the extant portions between 450/1 A. H. = 1058/9 A. D. and died in 470 A. H = 1077 A. D.; and the latter that of Abu'n-Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár al-ʿUtbí, 20 who wrote his *Kitábu'l-Yamíní* about 411 A. H. = 1020/1 A. D., and died in 427 A. H. = 1036 A. D., are not treated separately in this notice for the following reasons:

Firstly, amongst the 81 anecdotes on the Ghaznawids in the *Jawámiʿ* [5]), the titles of these two works are mentioned with little variation only in 11 anecdotes, in which 9 sources are given without the name of the author and 2 under the name 25 of Abú Naṣr al-ʿUtbí, *e. g.*, as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* in Nos. [6]) (1), (3), (5), (7) and (9), as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Dawlat i-Náṣirí* in No. (2), as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní* in Nos. (4) and (8), as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamíní* in No. (10), as the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* of Abú Naṣr-i-ʿUtbí in No. (6) and as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamíní* of Abú Naṣr in No. (11), so that it is really difficult to distinguish, on the face of it, one work from the other, 30 unless a thorough analysis of the contents of the anecdotes is made simultaneously.

1) See below, Notice No. (30)

2) See Rieu's description of [Or. 1 Br. Mus.] Cat. Pers. Mss. Vol. I, pp. 158–60, regarding the various titles and the extant portion of al Bayhaqí's work known as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Masʿúdí* (ed. from Morley Ms. by W. N. Lees = *B. T. M.*); and for a concise exposition of its contents, Biberstein Kazimirski's Introduction to the Díwán of '*Menoutchehri*', Paris (1886).

3) See Noldeke's account of the Arabic original of the *Yamíní* of al-ʿUtbí and its relation to the Persian Translation of Jurbádhaqání, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie*, Vienna, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 15–102 and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, 314; and for an account of the Persian Translation, Rieu's description of [Add 24, 950 Br. Mus.] Cat. Pers. Mss. Vol. I, pp. 157 – 8, where all other references are also noticed.

4) W. Barthold's article on him, in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 592–3; and for an important biography hitherto little made known, Ibn Funduq's *Ta'ríkh-i-Bayhaq* [Or. 3587 Br. Mus.] f 101 *b*–103 *b*.

5) *Reclassification of the Contents* [s. v. Ghaznawids]. 6) As arranged in this Notice.

Secondly, the actual title of al-Bayhaqí's work is a disputable question. It is not known whether the author gave any title to the whole work, or while referring to the early volumes concerning the Sultán Maḥmúd as the *Ta'rikh-i-Yamini* (*B. T. M.* pp. 26, 158) and (*Maqámát-i-Maḥmúdi*) (p. 176), he intended to give separate titles to separate volumes concerning the various rulers from the time of Sabuktigín to Farrukhzád, as is asserted by Rieu. It has been observed by Mírzá Muḥammad Khan [1] that Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlí b. Zayd, also called Ibn Funduq, a countryman of Abu'l-Fadhl who wrote his *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaq* in 563 A.H. = 1168 A.D., designates the whole work as the *Ta'rikh-i-Náṣiri*; and the Mírzá adds that this title is given in allusion to the *Ál-i-Náṣir*, that is the descendants of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sabuktigín; but al-Awfí makes use of both these titles, *e.g.* Nos. (8) and (9). Thirdly, the period and subject-matter covered by some of these anecdotes can be connected partly with the *Yamini* of al-ʿUtbí and partly with the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqi*; apparently, either owing to the loose appellation of the sources, *e.g.* No. (10), or to the indebtedness of al-ʿAwfí to al-Bayhaqí through al-ʿUtbí, *e.g.* No. (5), or a deliberate combination of both these sources for modelling his own anecdotes, *e.g.* No. (5). Fourthly, owing to the loss of the major portion of al-Bayhaqí's work — as it is often reported that the whole work consisted of thirty volumes, and only a small part, the end of Vol. V, the whole of Vols. VI–IX, and the beginning of Vol. X, containing the history of Masʿúd I, 421–432 A.H. = 1030–41 A.D. has come down to us — we, on the one hand, cannot establish the relation of al-Bayhaqí's earlier volumes dealing with Sabuktigín and Maḥmúd to al-ʿUtbí's *Yamini* for these common anecdotes, and on the other, cannot exactly estimate the value and the amount of the work of al-Bayhaqí incorporated by al-ʿAwfí in his anecdotes of the Ghaznawids.

Summary of the borrowed anecdotes

The following is a summary of the anecdotes in which these two works are mentioned, according to the order of their occurrence in the *Jawámiʿ*, to which dates and comparative references are supplied where possible.

(1) The wondrous dreams of Sabuktigín foretelling the rise of his dynasty, on the eve of the birth of his son Maḥmúd in 361 A.H. = 971 A.D.; and the coincident falling down of an idol and submerging of a temple at (قصر [2]) و سهند sic) in India, as reported by the expelled Muslims, (**A.** f 233*a*. I. xxi. **1072**). The *Ta'rikh-i-Náṣiri* is mentioned as the source; probably it is taken from the earlier portion of al-Bayhaqí's history, concerning Sabuktigín. The second dream resembles very closely the one given by Minháj-i-Siráj in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣiri* (p. 9), where the birth of Maḥmúd is placed in 371 A.H., and the well-known dream of Sabuktigín about the rising of a tree from the fire-place and the falling down of the idol in Parshawar is connected with the first event.

(2) The silent joy of the Caliph ʿUthmán at the dispersion of a party of revellers, whom he intended to punish in observance of the Islamic law, (**D.** f 124*a*. II. vii. **1318**). The *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Náṣiri* is mentioned as the source, but it is not traceable in the extant portion.

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[1] *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 296.

[2] Probably Wayhind or Ohind, cf. *Ērānšahr* p. 299.

(3) Sabuktigín's compassion on a deer and its young one, during his chase, at the time when he possessed only a single horse; and his rise foretold by the Prophet in dream, as a result of his humaneness towards the animal, (**D.** f 124*b*. II. vii. **1319**). The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* is given as the source; and the story is found in the extant portion of al-Bayhaqí (*B. T. M.* pp. 238–40).

(4) Absolute refusal of the Khwája Abu'l-ᶜAbbás al-Isfará'iní to deliver a slave demanded by the Sultan Maḥmúd, and his consequent downfall, (**D.** f 191*a*. II. xxv. **1536**). The *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní* as the source.

(5) The preposterous attempt of the Ílak Khán of Máwará'u'n-Nahr on Khurásán, while the Sultan Maḥmúd was engaged in Multán, his immediate return, and subjugation of the Khán. (**D.** f 192*b*. II. xxv. **1539**). Although the *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* is mentioned as the source, this anecdote can be traced in parts in the *Yamíní*[1]) of al-ᶜUtbí; from this it can be inferred that al-ᶜAwfí is indebted to al-Bayhaqí through al-ᶜUtbí.

(6) Ṭugháytigín or Ṭughán Khán attacked by Báytúz or Báytú, the ruler of Bust, seeks protection from Sabuktigín, who after a hard struggle restores him to Bust, but owing to the treacherous conduct of Ṭugháytigín, Sabuktigín annexes Bust to his kingdom and punishes the rebels, (**D.** f 230*a*. III. x. **1648**). The *Kitáb-i-Yamíní*[2]) of Abú Naṣr al-ᶜUtbí is given as the source. This anecdote begins as in ᶜUtbí and Jurbádhaqání, but the historical narrative is probably supplemented by some other source.

(7) Abú Sahl [Muḥammad b. Ḥasan] Zawzaní *ᶜÁriḏẖ*, persuades Sultan Masᶜúd to recover the wealth distributed by his brother Muḥammad, and enforces confiscation against the weighty opposition of Abú Naṣr Mushkání and Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí, his colleagues, which brings disrepute on Masᶜúd and causes serious trouble in the kingdom, and consequently tells upon Abú Sahl Zawzaní in the affair of Altúntásh Khwárazmsháh, (**D.** f 246*b*. III. xiv. **1696**). The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* is mentioned as the source. This long citation gives us a real clue to the method of utilisation of the work of al-Bayhaqí by al-ᶜAwfí. (*B. T. M.* pp. 311–5, 390–2).

(8) The usurpation of Ṭughril, the tyrannical regime of Abú Sahl Zawzaní, ending in the assassination of Ṭughril at the hands of his Turkish guard, and the coronation of Farrukhzád in 444 A. H. = 1053 A. D., (**D.** f 259*b*. III. xviii. **1719**). The *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní* is mentioned as the source. This anecdote is not found in the extant portion of al-Bayhaqí's work; probably it is taken from the earlier or later volumes of al-Bayhaqí, as can be inferred from his habit of referring to past and coming events in the portion dealing with Masᶜúd.

(9) Túmán, an upstart, gets into the favour of the Amír ᶜAbdu'r-Rashíd of Ghazna (reigned between 440–4 A. H. = 1049–52 A. D.), and terrorises the people by espionage, and mismanagement in Parsháwar (Peshawar); upon which the Khwája Abú Ṭáhir Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí is sent for investigation, and on his report to the Ṣáḥib-i-Díwán-i-

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1) *Yamíní* [Add. 7310 Br. Mus.] f 119*a*, f 132*b*–f 136*a* = Sprenger litho. pp. 266, 376 = *Maníní*, marginal text. Vol. I, p. 76 = *Jurbádhaqání* [Add. 24, 950 Br. Mus.] f 173*b*, ff 179 et seq.

2) *Yamíní* [Add. 7310 Br. Mus.] ff 11 = Sprenger litho. p. 19 = *Maníní*, marginal text. Vol. I, p. 64 et seq. = *Jurbádhaqání* [Add. 24, 950 Br. Mus.] ff 16.

Risálat, Abu'l-Fadhl al-Bayhaqí (the historian), Túmán is temporarily dismissed, but again gets into power and dismisses Abu'l-Fadhl, spreads terror, and ruins the state; finally the Amír himself is murdered, (D. f 262*b*. III. xix. 1728). The *Ta'rikh-i-Náṣiri* is mentioned as the source; this account appears to have been drawn from the later volumes of al-Bayhaqí, as the historian himself promised (*B. T. M.* p. 122), and probably this account brings the history to the year 444 A.H.

(10) Admonition of the Sultan Maḥmúd to his brother Naṣr, by ordering the royal drums to be beaten at his palace, as a signal of warning for abusing the royal prerogative of thrashing a slave, (D. f 8*a*. IV. ii. 1802). The *Ta'rikh[-i-Dawlat-]i-Yamini* is mentioned as the source. Cf. also (A. f 141*b*. I. ix. 494) where the same anecdote is given in fuller detail without acknowledgement of the source.

(11) An account of the early wars between the Hindú Sháh of Kábul and Sabuktigín, and the advice of an old woman (*زاله) to pollute the wondrous spring[1]) in the neighbourhood of Nagharu (*نغر) which brought about a snow-storm and led to the victory of Sabuktigín in 369 A.H. = 979 A.D., (D. f 78*b*. IV. xx. 2002). The *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamini* of Abú Naṣr [al-ʿUtbí] is mentioned as the source. In the *Yamini* this anecdote is traceable, but it differs in details. In the original[2]) as well as in the translation of Jurbádhaqání the king is mentioned as Jayapála and the place of the battle as Farwán and Lamaghán, emphasis is laid on the fierce battle and undecisiveness of the issue, and the trick of polluting the spring and the snow-storm are mentioned in a different manner; whereas in the *Jawámiʿ* emphasis is laid on the skill of the young warrior Maḥmúd[3]), on the advice of the old woman, which is not found in the original, and on the curious natural property of the spring. Probably this is to suit his chapter-heading, viz. "On the Chemical Properties of Natural Objects."

As regards the method of the utilisation of al-Bayhaqí's history by al-ʿAwfí, we possess two definite quotations (Nos. 3, 7), one about Sabuktigín's compassion on the deer, and the other about Abú Sahl Zawzaní's machinations in the early reign of Masʿúd, in both of which the *Ta'rikh-i-Náṣiri* is mentioned as the source. In both works No. (3), which al-ʿAwfí abridges, is by way of illustration of the humaneness of Sabuktigín, but No. (7) is a fairly long extract from which we can arrive at certain definite conclusions. In the original, it begins with the account of the entry of the Sultan Masʿúd into the capital, Ghazna, in 422 A.H. after his father's death, and serves as a prologue to Masʿúds eventful reign, which is dealt with by al-ʿAwfí in a few sentences. The real point of comparison, or rather the main purpose of al-ʿAwfí, is to illustrate how corruption can commence in a state by the adoption of counsels based on mean and selfish motives, whereas in the original, apart from a similar purpose, the narrative is coloured

al-ʿAwfí's utilisation of al-Bayhaqí's history.

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1) Cf. Muqaddasí, *Aḥsan'ut-Taqásim*, ed. M. J. de Goeje. Bib. Geog. Arab. VIII, p. 303: probably near Shiyán, a town in Askimasht where there was a wonderful spring; *Y. M. B.* Vol III, p. 345 mentions it as a village in Bust, and on (p. 886) Farwán as a small town in Ghazna; *L. E. C.* p. 350, the Banjhír or Kábul river flowed out towards the plains of India, past Farwán; but in *Y. M. B.* IV, p. 797, Nagharu a town in Sind, 6 days from Ghazna.

2) *Yamini* [Add. 7310 Br. Mus.] f 13*b*–14*b* = Sprenger, litho. p. 23 = *Manini* (Cairo 1286), marginal text p. 74 = *Jurbádhaqáni* [Add. 24, 950 Br. Mus.] ff 20.

3) He is stated to have been 14 years old.

by al-Bayhaqí's personal bias against Abu Sahl Zawzaní and in favour of Abú Naṣr Mushkání and Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí. The whole account corresponds in general, even certain expressions are similar — except for a few minor additions and omissions — and the story of Abú Sahl's dismissal is continued and supplemented from the later extant portion of the original. In such citations it is to be observed that the first person is substituted for the third, the language is always al-ʿAwfí's own, and the method of narration is simple and uniform with the entire scheme of the work. These parallel texts offer us a unique opportunity of judging the evolution of historical prose and its transition from the archaic (5th century) to the comparatively modern (7th century A. H.) Persian style.

Observations concerning the later portions of al-Bayhaqí's work

Besides these acknowledged and established citations it is extremely probable that Nos. (8) and (9) are drawn from the lost volumes of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Bayhaqí*, as both of them are immediately connected with the career of al-Bayhaqí and probably bring the record of events down to his own times. The tyranny of Túmán, the assassination of the Amír ʿAbdu'r-Rashíd, and again Abú Sahl Zawzaní's high-handedness in the short period of Ṭughril's usurpation and the coronation of Farrukhzád, the then reigning monarch, lead us to think that these minute details would not have been given by al-ʿAwfí if al-Bayhaqí had not actually written them, in spite of the rambling narrative, disregard of chronological sequence, insertion of past and coming events, and the discursive and illustrative method of al-Bayhaqí.

Other unacknowledged, common anecdotes from al-Bayhaqí's extant portion

There are other anecdotes in which the source is not mentioned, but the resemblance is very strong, *e.g.* the exemplary punishment which the Sultan Maḥmúd meted out to an elephant-keeper (**A.** f 145*b*. I. ix. **522**) = (*B. T. M.* pp. 557–8), the disgrace of Fadhl b. Rabíʿ (**A.** f 192*a*. I. xiv. **769**) = (*B. T. M.* pp. 29–35), al-Ma'mún's policy in burning the treasonable letters addressed to al-Amín (*B. T. M.* pp. 35–6), the Caliph Harúnu'r-Rashíd and the pious Ibnu's-Sammák (**A.** f 197*b*. I. xv. **797**) = (*B. T. M.* pp. 638–43), Alexander and the institution of the Tribal Kings (*B. T. M.* p. 105), from which we can infer that al-ʿAwfí borrowed occasionally other illustrative anecdotes given by al-Bayhaqí, apart from the very important material for the Ghaznawids, in which the *Jawámiʿ* is so rich.

al-ʿAwfí's disregard of the original source in utilising the *Yamíní* of al-ʿUtbí.

Concerning the utilisation of the *Kitábu'l-Yamíní* of al-ʿUtbí the following remarks are based on the three anecdotes Nos. (5), (6) and (11), of which the last two are acknowledged to have been borrowed from the *Yamíní*. In No. (5) about the preposterous attempt of Ílak Khán and his discomfiture, the *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* is mentioned as the source, but the whole account is traceable to the *Yamíní*. Unfortunately we do not possess the parallel text of al-Bayhaqí for this portion; in that case it would have been possible to establish a twofold indebtedness of al-ʿAwfí to al-ʿUtbí and to estimate the relation of al-Bayhaqí's text to the *Yamíní* of al-ʿUtbí. Here a few points are given about the relation of al-ʿAwfí's anecdotes to the Arabic original of the *Yamíní*. In this anecdote about Ílak Khán there is no attempt at rhetorical imitation as in Jurbádhaqání, on the contrary bare historical facts are collected from various portions of the *Yamíní* and brought within the compass of a single anecdote, regardless of the original order, minor details, extraneous matter and profuse imagery of al-ʿUtbí. In No. (6), about the annexation of Bust, the story begins as in al-ʿUtbí and Jurbádhaqání, without any direct textual resemblances with the one or the other,

and is augmented with such minute details as are found in neither. For instance, in the original it is reported that Ṭughán Khán treacherously gave a wound to Sabuktigín and the latter, on the other hand, also wounded and banished him; this fact is entirely ignored by al-ʿAwfí. According to al-ʿAwfí, in the early stages of the attack of Báytúz, Sabuktigín was unhorsed — which caused panic for some time — and later 5 when Ṭugháytigín was restored to Bust, he did not fulfil his promises and made common cause with his brother and turned traitor, whereupon Sabuktigín, secretly informed of his designs, overcomes him and annexes Bust Similarly in No. (11), about the victory of Sabuktigín over the Sháh of Kábul, the version of the two stories differs in details and is much shortened. In spite of the freedom which Jurbadhaqani takes 10 with the Arabic original as has been duly remarked by Prof. Noldeke, one can find a reproduction of the original, but in al-ʿAwfí's anecdotes it is difficult to trace even partial agreement with either of these, unless a special effort is made; hence al-Awfí is not faithful to this source, and this is an exception to his general mode of utilising his sources, which has been indicated throughout this chapter 15

(18) a. The *Kitábu't-Taysír fi't-Tafsír* [1]).

Anecdotes taken from this Commentary.

This Commentary on the *Qur'án* by the Imám Najmu'd-Dín Abu Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasafí (460–537 A. H. = 1068–1142 A. D.), very well known in the East as one of the pillars of the Ḥanafite school, through his treatise on the Sunní creed, the *ʿAqá'idu'n-Nasafiyya*, is cited with acknowledgement three times in the *Jawámiʿ*. 20

(1) ʿAmr b. Murra's earnest advice to a questioner not to cavil at the mysterious verses of the *Qur'án* [2]), called the "*Mutashábihát*", (A. f 26*b*. I. ii. 31).

(2) The formula of prayer adopted by the Prophet Yúsuf in his confinement in the well at Kanʿán, (D. f 17*b*. IV. v. 1835).

(3) The account of the seven magic cities in Babylon built for Namrúd, (D. f 76*a*. IV. xix. 1994). 25

The work being inacessible, the present writer is unable to verify these anecdotes from the original.

b. The *ʿUyúnu'l-Akhyár*.

Source unidentifiable.

Another work of an-Nasafí is also cited, but the identity of it is uncertain. Firstly, there is a difference in the reading of the last word of the title, which in some Mss. is found as *ʿUyúnu'l-Akhbár*; secondly, the full name of the author is not mentioned; 30 thirdly, the *nisba* an-Nasafí is ambiguous, as there are a number of people who rose from the town of Nasaf and distinguished themselves in various branches of Islamic learning; fourthly, there does not appear any work of this title in Brockelmann or H. Khalfa, attributed to ʿUmar an-Nasafí; fifthly, the only anecdote taken from this work does not afford us any sure means of identification; it is as follows: the gra- 35 ciousness of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa towards his rowdy neighbour resulting in reformation of the latter's character. (D. f 134*a*. II. x. 1353).

[1]) See *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 487, No. 3811 and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 427–8.

[2]) Súra iii, verse 5.

(19). The *Kitáb-i-Khalqu'l-Insán wa Khulqu'l-Insán.*

Account of the work given by al-ʿAwfí.

This title[1]) was once very popular with the philologists, nearly thirty authors from the time of al-Aṣmaʿí to Jalálu'd-Dín as-Suyúṭí, the famous polygraph, having adopted it for different subjects, but al-ʿAwfí has particularly mentioned the name of the author and has given a short account of this work in the *Lubáb*[2]), from which, we gather that the author, the Imám Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmúd b. Aḥmad an-Níshápúrí wrote it under the following circumstances: "And when it came to his knowledge, that in the lands of the West (probably Andulus), a Commentary on the *Qur'án* had been prepared in fifty volumes, he, in exposition of a single Verse (li, 21), namely, «وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَفَلَا تُبْصِرُونَ» compiled a hundred volumes, fifty on the خَلْق and fifty on the خُلْق of man." Thus arose the title of this work. al-ʿAwfí has studied it and cites it 8 times in the following anecdotes, which owing to the loss of the work remain unverified.

Borrowed anecdotes.

(1) The blaspheming caligraphist who wrote a miniature *Qur'án* in six days, when asked, impudently cited from the *Qur'án* the Verse (l, 37) about the period of creation, upon which his hand was withered. (**A.** f 25*b*. I. i. **29**).

(2) The growing suspicion of the Caliph Hárún and the final disgrace of the Barmecides, (**A.** f 106*a*. I. v. **302**).

(3) The Qádhí of Raqqa compels ʿÍsá b. Jaʿfar to discharge his liabilities, (**A.** f 124*b*. I. vi. **394**).

(4) The dream of Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq, the author, about the rise of the Sultan Bahrámsháh of Ghazna. (**A.** f 233*a*. I. xxi. **1069**).

(5) The trick of a miserable person who wanted to deprive his nephew of his inheritance, (**D.** f 174*b* II. xxii. **1489**)

(6) Jealousy of a vindictive neighbour, which called down doom upon himself, (**D.** f 197*b*. III. ii. **1557**).

(7) A miser's habit of talking to any piece of coin which happened to fall into his hands, (**D.** f 228*a*. III. ix. **1640**).

(8) A joke which led to the execution of a murderer. (**D.** f 59*a*. IV. xiii. **1934**).

Probable nature of its contents.

From the nature of these citations and from the basic Verse, it can be inferred that this work contained illustrations of human nature, drawn from various points of view. It is not known whether it was in Arabic or Persian, but it is likely that the author, since he lived at the court of Bahrámsháh (r. 511–52 A. H. = 1117/8–57/8 A. D.) may have written it in Persian. About the author's son who also flourished in the reign of Bahrámsháh we shall speak later on in connection with the Persian translation of the *Ghurar* called the *Ra'y-Árây*[3]), but very little is known about Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq himself beyond what al-ʿAwfí mentions in the *Jawámiʿ* and the *Lubáb*.

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[1]) See for the various *Khalqu'l-Insáns*, *H. Khal.*, Vol. III, pp. 172–3; *Ibn Khal.*, (Wüst.) Biog. Nos. 12, 85, 262, 272, 281, 389, 590, 646, 653, 741.

[2]) Pt. I, p. 281.

[3]) See below, Notice No. (22).

(20). The *Khawáṣṣ-i-Ashyá'*.

Connection of al-ʿAwfí with this work.

This treatise on the medicinal properties of natural substances was written by Sharafu'z-Zamán Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. ʿAdnán as-Surkhakatí, the court physician to the Sultan Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán Ibráhím ibnu'l-Ḥusayn who ruled in Samarqand 1178–1200 A.D., the maternal uncle of al-ʿAwfí, and also the author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Turkistán* mentioned previously, a short biographic sketch of whom is given in the *Lubáb*[1]). The connection of our author with this book is very interesting; he relates it himself in an anecdote which gives an account of a discussion on the famous line of the poet Manṣúr-i-Manṭiqí:

سان مـرد ايـرانى شّت ، بباغ اندر گلى بشگفت خندان

which took place at the court of the Prince of Samarqand, Nuṣratu'd-Dín ʿUthman b. Ibráhím, about the year 597 A.H., (**D.** f 80*a*. IV. xx. **2008**). Our author having studied and even transcribed this treatise of his uncle was able to explain the allusion of the poet to the peculiar property of a stone called the *Ḥajaru'l-Báhit*, which is found in Tibet and is said to produce an extremely exhilarating effect on strangers. Muqaddasí and other ancient geographers have particularly remarked the effect of the land of Tibet on foreigners; Zakariyyá al-Qazwíní[2]) also mentions a stone of the above name, possessing similar properties. This work has probably been utilised advantageously in illustrating his chapter in the *Jawámiʿ*, "On the Properties of Natural Objects" (Pt. IV, ch. xx), but unfortunately it has not come down to us.

(21). The *Dastúru'l-Wuzará'*.

A work hitherto unknown

This Manual for the Wazírs is ascribed by al-ʿAwfí to the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Masʿúd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, entitled Ẓahíru'-Dawla (reigned 451–92 A.H. = 1059–99 A.D.). No account of this work is found in other contemporary sources, but al-ʿAwfí's reference to it, and the contents of the anecdote in the *Jawámiʿ* (**D.** f 241*b*. III. xiii. **1684**), are direct proofs of its existence, and upon these the present notice of the work is based. But unfortunately only one citation is given, from which we cannot possibly determine the exact value of this work. The anecdote in question gives an account of a Chief of the police called Báwardí (?) who explains the mystery of his successful management of the city of Ghazna in the days of the Sultan Maḥmúd, the grandfather of the author of the *Dastúr* i.e. the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím. It is introduced in the chapter "On the Despicability of Hard-heartedness and the Praiseworthiness of Humaneness", and is narrated to illustrate the apparent harshness of the Chief, who was at heart very kind. If anything can be gathered about the nature of the contents of this source, it may be said on the basis of this anecdote that the Sultan, who as has been suggested by Minháj-i-Siráj[3]) and Abu'l-Fadhl[4]) al-

1) See Pt. I, pp. 179–81, also above, pp. 8, 44.
2) *Q. A. M.*, pp. 211–2.
3) *M. T. N.*, for the reign of the Ghaznawid Ibráhím, pp. 19–20.
4) *B. T. M.*, p. 823.

Bayhaqí, a contemporary historian, being very earnest about the administration of his kingdom which had sustained heavy losses in the reigns of his predecessors at the hands of the Saljúqs, wrote this manual with the idea of imparting political advice to his ministers, through the example of his predecessors and other successful sovereigns. 5

There are a few more anecdotes in the *Jawámi'* concerning the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím of Ghazna, but their sources are not mentioned; still, a short summary of them is given here, to illustrate the various aspects of this royal personage, the author of the *Dastúr*. (See also above p. 30, *ll.* 1–8).

(1) His consultation with Abu'l-Qásim Ḥuṣayrí, the old counsellor of Maḥmúd. 10
(**A.** f 128*a*. I. vii. 405).

(2) His anxiety to appoint a suitable successor to his old Ḥájib-i-Buzurg, (probably Badr or Urtigín as mentioned by Bayhaqí, *B. T. M.* p. 824) (**A.** f 128*a*. I. vii. 406).

(3) The dream of his Wazír, Khwája Buzurg, Bihrúz b. Aḥmad, and the interpretation that he would manage the affairs of a part of the globe (Ghazna). (**A.** f 233*a*. I. xxi. 1070). 15

(22). The *Ra'y-Árúy*.

An account of the author and of this work.

This Persian Translation of ath-Tha'álibí's *Ghurar-i-Akhbár-i-Muluki'l-Furs-i-wa Siyar-i-him* is known to us correctly through al-'Awfí only. In the *Lubáb* [1]) a short notice of the author Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq b. Aḥmad an-Níshápúrí occurs, and in the *Jawámi'* [2]) (**B.** f 45*b* = **G.** f 48*b*. I. iv. 183) this work is 20 referred to. In the *Haft Iqlím* [3]) it is mentioned as the *Ra'y-i-Jahán Árúy*; H. Khalfa [4]) mentions it under the same title as al-'Awfí, but ascribes it to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Níshápúrí, omitting the name of his father, Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmud, noticed previously as the author of the *Khalqu'l-Insán* [5]). In this respect the account given by al-'Awfí is trustworthy, since he is speaking from first-hand knowledge of the 25 work. The author of the *Ra'y-Árúy* was one of the eminent persons who lived at the court of Bahrámsháh the Ghaznawid (r. 511–52 A. H. = 1117/8–57/8 A. D.), and was sent as an emissary to the camp of the invading Saljúq King Sanjar at Takínábád in 529 A.H. = 1134–5 A. D., in order to negotiate peace terms, on which occasion he addressed a quatrain to the Sultan Sanjar, glorifying his overlordship. At this time 30 the author was far advanced in age, so much so that a special conveyance was sent for him and respect was paid to him in the enemy's camp. al-'Awfí also mentions his other works, the *Tafṣír-i-Baṣá'ir-i-Yamíní* [6]), and the *Ṣaḥífatu'l-Iqbál* [7]), but apparently all these three are lost. As regards the utilisation of this translation by al-'Awfí we cannot say with certainty the amount of matter incorporated by al-'Awfí, since al-'Awfí 35 has also used the original [8]) of ath-Tha'álibí for the accounts of the Ancient Kings of Persia.

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1) Pt. I, pp. 281–2.
2) See above, Notice No. (13), p. 52.
3) [Or. 203 Br. Mus.] f 224*a*.
4) *H. Khal.* Vol. III, p. 342, No. 5855.
5) See above, Notice No. (19).
6) *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 55, No. 1855. Cf. also, Ivanow, Cat. Pers. MSS. Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 956.
7) *H. Khal.*, Vol. IV, p. 100, No. 8828.
8) See below, Notice No. (30).

(23). The *Rabí'u'l-Abrár* [1]).

An account of the work in connection with the cited anecdote.

This work of the great Mu'tazilite commentator and philologist Abu'l Qásim Maḥmúd b. 'Umar az-Zamakhsharí [2]), surnamed Járu'llah, (d. 1143 A.D.) is quoted in the *Jawámi'* only once in connection with the traditional account of the extinction of the fabulous bird 'Anqá', (D. f 93*a*. IV. xxiv. 2067). In the words of az-Zamakhsharí as quoted by H. Khalfa [3]): "This work is designed to inflame the minds of the readers of the *Kashsháf 'an Ḥaqá'iqi't-Tanzíl*, and to direct the attention of the wearied minds towards the sources of its information and its secrets". The complete work is called the *Rabí'u'l-Abrár wa Nuṣúṣu'l-Akhyár*, of which various later selections are enumerated in Brockelmann. One of these selections is entitled the *Rawdhu'l-Akhyár* [4]), and quotations from this work are generally found in works on Tradition and the Qur'ánic sciences, *e.g.* the passage in question is found in ad-Damírí's *Ḥayátu'l-Ḥayawánu'l-Kubrá* [5]) also. This anecdote is found in the fourteenth *Rawdha* [6]) dealing with the Angels, the Jinn, the Demons, and the Animals, where the account of the extinction of the 'Anqá' is recorded on the authority of the early commentator 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbás. In this very anecdote al-'Awfí cites another version from Muḥammad b. Sá'ib al-Kalbí's Commentary as noticed above [7]), and both these quotations are faithfully translated.

(24). The *Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya* [8]).

The *Risála* as a ground-work for a few anecdotes about the Şúfís.

This famous tract on Şúfism by Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'l-Karím b. Hawázin al-Qushayrí [9]) (b. 376 d. 465 A.H. = 986–1073 A.D.) is one of the acknowledged sources of the *Jawámi'*. It was composed in 437 A.H. = 1045–6 A.D., as Dr. Nicholson [10]) observes, "with the avowed object of demonstrating that the history and traditions of Şúfism are bound up with strict observance of the Mohammedan religious law", and Goldziher [11]) characterises it as "eine Reaktion der positiven Gesetzlichkeit gegen den Nihilismus der Mystik". Although al-'Awfí had no intention of writing either a systematic account of the development of Şúfism or strictly chronological or class-wise biographies of the Şúfís, as the author of the original had in view, the choice of the *Risála* as a ground-work for his sketches of the lives of the saints in pt. I, ch. iii, reflects to a certain extent the moderate Şúfism to which our author was devoted.

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1) See Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 292; for Mss. of this work and its selections, see Hammer, W. Jahrb. 63 Anz. Bl. p. 231; old Arabic Cat. Br. Mus. pp. 334*a*, 513*a*, and Suppl. Ar. Cat. Br. Mus. pp. 714–5.

2) See for his life, *Ibn Khal.*, (Wust.) Biog. No. 721.

3) Vol. III, p. 344, No. 5868.

4) Printed in Bulúq (1280 A.H.).

5) (= *D. H. H.*) Buláq (1284 A.H.) Vol. II, p. 194.

6) *Rawdhu'l-Akhyár* (p. 99).

7) See above, Notice No. (4) b. p. 39.

8) See *H. Khal*, Vol. II, p. 152, No. 6271; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 432; Rieu's description of [Or. 3502] Suppl. Ar. Cat. Br. Mus. pp. 147–8. (Buláq 1287 Edition = *R. Q.*); also Richard Hartmann's Einleitung to *Al-Kuschairîs Darstellung des Şûfîtums*, Berlin 1914.

9) See for his life, *Ansáb.* (facs.) 453*b*; *Kashfu'l Maḥjúb* p. 167; *Ta'ríkhu'l-Islám* [Or. 50 Br. Mus.] f 100; *Ibn Khal.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 367.

10) *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* p. 33.

11) *Vorlesungen über den Islam* p. 175.

His main interest lying in anecdotal illustration and biographic details, he selected only those portions of the *Risála*, which is so valuable as a collection of sayings, anecdotes and definitions, that would enrich his own collection of anecdotes, and particularly, the first chapter of the first section "On the account of the chiefs of this path and that which accrues from their lives and sayings towards the observance of 5 the religious law", and based on it nearly thirteen short accounts of the lives of the Ṣúfís of the first order from Ibráhím b. Adham al-Balkhí (d. 161 A.H. = 777 A.D.) to Ḥátim al-Aṣamm (d. 237 A.H. = 851 A.D.). Besides these, there are other traces in the *Jawámiʿ*[1]) from which we can infer that al-ʿAwfí has utilised other chapters of the *Risála* on ethical virtues from a similar point of view. 10

al-ʿAwfí utilised the Arabic original and not the Persian Translation of the *Risála*.

As regards the utilisation of the *Risála*, the manner of al-Awfí's[2]) alluding to it and other internal evidence from the cited passages indicate a direct use of the Arabic original rather than the Persian version represented by the Br. Mus. Codex [Or. 4118][3]); even though the latter, owing to its priority and characteristic early features, might have been known to him. Unfortunately nothing is known either about 15 the translator or the date of his work; we have only the name of the transcriber and the date of this transcript which is 601 A.H. = 1205 A.D.; but the archaic spelling, the construction of the sentences, the choice of words, the idiom and mode of expression, the simplicity and directness of style, the literal and exact rendering — excepting as regards the introduction and the poetical citations which are retained in Arabic and at 20 times vocalised, the partial omission of the fuller links of narration, and the inversion of the order of a few chapters — definitely point to its having been translated at a much earlier epoch, probably in the beginning of the 6th century of the *Hijra*, and entitle it to a place amongst the classical translations of the pre-Mongolian period. Thus, a comparison of the style of the identical passages in it and in the *Jawámiʿ* with the original 25 determines, on the one hand, the early nature of this version and a marked difference between the two; and on the other, the use of the Arabic original by al-ʿAwfí.

Comparison of the Persian Translation and the *Jawámiʿ* with the original.

The account of the Ṣúfí saint Dhu'n-Nún-i-Miṣrí (d. 245 A.H. = 860 A.D.) will perhaps serve as a typical example for such a comparative study, as it is partly common to all the three and even to the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'*. In the Arabic 30 text of al-Qushayrí (p. 9) it begins with short biographical details and Dhu'n-Nún's interview with the Caliph al-Mutawakkil and extends to his epigrammatic sayings and other doctrines, *e.g.* the signs of the lovers of God, and to his story of conversion and repentance. The Persian version (ff 14) follows almost all the details closely and even retains in some places the Arabic construction of the sentences. In the *Jawámiʿ* 35 (**A.** f 39*b*. I. iii. 83) the earlier portion consisting of biographic details is given in a short form, and other particulars *e.g.* his interview and sayings, are omitted, but the central fact of his conversion to Ṣúfism is given prominence, *i.e.* the story of the miraculous provision of two dishes for a blind lark and the object-lesson drawn from it by Dhu'n-

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1) *E.g.* (D. f 35*b*. IV. x. 1889).

2) (A. f 39*a*. I. iii. 82) «و استاد ابوالقسم قشیری رحمة الله علیه در رسالت خویش او [یعنی ابواسحٰق ابرٰهیم بن ادهم بن منصور] را بر جمله مشایخ مقدّم داشته است»

3) See Rieu's description of its contents, Suppl. Cat. Pers. Mss. pp. 9–10.

Nún, which is the immediate point of a comparison in this case. In the Arabic original all the links of transmission from Dhu'n-Nún to al-Qushayrí[1] are given; in the Persian version the two latest authorities are omitted and the story is connected with Yúsuf b. al-Ḥusayn, who was present when Dhu'n-Nún himself related the cause of his repentance to Sálim al-Maghribí; and in the *Jawámi* all the intermediate links are dropped out except Sálim al-Maghribí, and the story is in al-ʿAwfí's own language, which is not so precise and faithful a translation as the Persian version, and appears to be quite independent of it, containing a few additional anecdotal embellishments; whereas in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'* (pt. I, p. 115, *ll.* 21–5) all the authorities are omitted, the story is abridged and the facts are altered; and it is welded with other stories of his awakening in order to produce an effect by the continuity of his experiences, regardless of any biographical truth or fidelity to the original.

Comparison of al-ʿAṭṭár and al-ʿAwfí's methods of utilising the *Risála*

Attention has already been called (p. 40) to the inaccuracy of Farídu'd-Dín al-ʿAṭṭár[2] in the utilisation of the *Asráru't-Tawḥíd*, and the same remark holds good in the case of the *Risála*; a comparison of al-ʿAṭṭár's and al-ʿAwfí's texts of identical passages with the Arabic original will further illustrate this point clearly. al-ʿAṭṭár's method of dealing with his sources, which he does not acknowledge, yet which becomes noticeable after a close examination, is precarious. At times he abridges and alters the original completely, as in the case of the last-mentioned anecdote of Dhu'n-Nún's conversion, and in other cases he develops, augments the bulk of the story with details of his own invention, changes the order of the events irrespective of chronological sequence or historical accuracy, and narrates in such a form that the original is entirely neglected, *e.g.* the anecdote of the conversion to Ṣúfism of Ibráhím b. Adham al-Balkhí, connected with the hunt and the mysterious voice proclaiming, "O Ibráhím! is it for this that thou wast created or is it for this that thou wast commanded?". In the Arabic original (p. 9) as well as in the Persian version [Or. 4118 Br. Mus.] f 12*b*, this account is sketchy and brief, and couched in direct and simple language, and similarly in the *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** f 39*a*. I. **82**) there is a very close agreement between the text of this story and the Arabic original, whereas in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'* (pt. I, pp. 86–7) it is narrated at twice the original length, and details are furnished, firstly, to prepare the minds of the readers for some unexpected thing on account of which Ibráhím is disconcerted; secondly, to emphasise his reluctance to obey the mysterious voices, till at last the prey, the deer, converses with him and makes a prey of him; and lastly to enhance the effect of the sudden change that has come over him. For these reasons, the

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1) «سمعت الشيخ أبا عبدالرحمن السُّلَمى [صاحب طبقات الصوفيّة المتوفّى سنة ٤١٢] رحمة الله عليه يقول سمعت أبابكر محمّد بن عبد الله بن شاذان يقول سمعت يوسف بن الحسين يقول حضرت مجلس ذى النّون يوما و جاءه سالم المغربى فقال له يا أباالفيض ما كان سبب توبتك»

2) See Persian Introduction pp. كد–كه for other instances of historical errors in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'*; the present writer has particularly brought in this comparison, as al-ʿAṭṭár does not mention his sources, which when examined closely will perhaps establish the real worth of the biographies in the *Tadhkira* and add to the valuable contributions of its editor Dr. R. A. Nicholson and his collaborator Mírzá Muḥammad. The *Asrár* and the *Risála* serving as typical instances of comparison in connection with the *Jawámiʿ*, emphasis is laid on this point, and a fuller analysis of other anecdotes with parallel references is given in the *Table of Contents* pt. I, ch. iii.

biographic information in the *Tadhkira*, however interesting it may be, is very untrustworthy. Most likely, the profuseness of material, the eclectic method, the welding of different versions, the attempt to impart a personal touch and to narrate the lives in a popular and interesting manner are responsible for its inconsistency and inaccuracy. On the other hand, al-ʿAwfí's sources were probably few; therefore, in this case also he concentrated his energy on the *Risála* and tried to be as faithful to the original as possible.

(25) a. The *Sindbád-náma* [1]).

Origin and early versions of the *Sindbád-náma*.

The Book of Sindbád or the tale of the king's son and the seven wazírs is referred to by al-ʿAwfí twice in the *Jawámiʿ* in pt. III, ch. xxv, "On the Wiles of Women", once in the introduction to this chapter along with the *Bakhtiyár-náma* [2]) (D. 286*a*. III. xxv. *Int.* 1783) [3]), and again in the conclusion along with the *Kalíla wa Dimna* [4]) (B. f 243*b* = C. f 344*a*. III. xxv. 1789) [5]) as one of the famous and popular works on the stories of female slyness. Authorities differ, as in the case of the *Kalíla wa Dimna*, as to the original home of this work, whether it was India or Persia. al-Masʿúdí [6]) and Ibnu'n-Nadím [7]) agree that it was originally shaped by the Indian sage Sindbád. Ethé and Nöldeke also hold that, from the intrinsic nature of these tales, they belong to an Indian rather than a Persian environment, as is evident from a perusal of this work; but at an earlier epoch they were translated into Pahlawí and then into Arabic and other languages. At any rate, a copy of the Pahlawí version existed in the time of the Sámánids, and by the order of the Sámánid Amír Núḥ II b. Manṣúr (reigned 366–87 A. H. = 976–97 A. D.) the Khwája ʿAmíd Abu'l-Fawáris Qanáwarzí translated it for the first time into modern Persian prose [8]). An account of Qanáwarzí's version is given by Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. ʿAlí b. Muḥammad b. [Ḥasan] aẓ-Ẓahírí al-Kátib as-Samarqandí in connection with his own version of the *Sindbád-náma* [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] [9]) ff 14, who says that it was in a very simple and unadorned language. Most probably from this prose version, the poet Abú Bakr Zaynu'd-Dín b. Ismáʿíl al-Warráq al-Azraqí (d. before 465 A. H. = 1072/3 A. D.) composed or intended to compose his *Mathnawí* in the middle of the fifth century of the *Hijra*.

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1) See for its origin, history, versions, adaptations and bibliography *G. I. P.* II, pp. 258–61.

2) See Notice No. (25) b.

3) «و اگرچه درین کتابها تألیف کرده اند چون سندباد و بختیارنامه و غیر آن امّا درین مجموع حکایتی چند از مکر ایشان تقریر خواهد افتاد» (= C. f 340*b*)

4) See for its origin, history, versions and bibliography *G. I. P.* II, pp. 326–9, also Brockelmann's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 694–8.

5) «و حکایت مکرهای زنان بسیارست و لطائف غدرهای ایشان بی شمار و کتاب سندباد که از مشاهیر کتب است [و] تمامت [آن] مشتمل بر مکرهای زنان و در چند کتب دیگر چون کلیله و دمنه و غیر آن [حکایتهای نادر و غریب] درین باب مسطورست و ایراد آن بسبب شهرت در توقّف افتاد و بدین قدر اختصار نمودیم»

6) *M. M. Dh.* Vol. I, p. 162.

7) *Fihrist*, pp. 304–5.

8) *Chahár Maqála*, (Pers. Text.), Mírzá Muḥammad's comment., pp. 174–8.

9) See Rieu's description, Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, p. 748.

Unfortunately, like the prose version of Qanáwarzí, this metrical version has not come down to us; the only data for this *Mathnawí* are found in one of the panegyrics of al-Azraqí written in honour of his patron-prince, Abu'l-Fawáris Ṭughanshah b. Alp Arslán the Saljúq, in which the poet alludes to his own skill as manifested in the "Counsels of Sindbád" [1]). Another unique, but rather poor poetical version (a *Mathnawí*) of the *Sindbád-náma* of unknown authorship composed as late as 776 A. H. = 1374/5 A. D. is preserved in the India Office Library [No. 3214] [2]), which according to Ethé closely agrees with the Greek *Sintipas* [3]) and the prose version of aẓ-Ẓahírí, and has been fully described by F. Falconer [4]).

Discussion on the two prose versions by aẓ-Ẓahírí and ad-Daqá'iqí.

As regards the later prose versions of the *Sindbád-náma*, it is really difficult to decide which actual version was utilised by al-ʿAwfí in the *Jawámiʿ*; but in this connection, it seems proper to discuss the question of the existence of two different prose versions, about which the learned critic Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín [5]) has raised certain objections. After combining two different statements of al-ʿAwfí regarding this work, one in the biography of the poet [Bahá'u'd-Dín] aẓ-Ẓahírí [6]) and the other in that of the poet Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad ad-Daqá'iqí [7]) al-Marwazí, Mírzá Muḥammad supposes them to be contemporaries and rejects the simultaneous composition of two prose versions of the same work. In fact, as remarked above (pp. 40–1), aẓ-Ẓahírí, the author of the *Aʿradhu'r-Riyása* [8]) and the editor of the *Sindbád-náma*, flourished at an earlier epoch than ad-Daqá'iqí, and these two poets composed two different versions under two different rulers of the same Ílak Khán dynasty of Samarqand. On the testimony of the extant version of aẓ-Ẓahírí [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 6*a* this work was dedicated to Ruknu'd-Dín Qutlugh Balká Abu'l-Muẓaffar Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán b. Qilij Qará Khán [9]) (identified by Prof. Barthold as Masʿúd b. ʿAlí, who reigned 558–74 A. H. = 1163–78/9 A. D., and not Jalálu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. al-Ḥusayn, a contemporary of al-ʿAwfí, the last but one ruler of this dynasty, as asserted by Mírzá Muḥammad) who had returned after a long absence to his hereditary dominions (f 10*a*) [10]), and who after vanquishing his foes in Túrán in the year fifty-six i.e. 556 A. H. = 1160/1 A. D. had restored peace and the reign of justice in his kingdom. The date and this event point to its having been composed earlier than is supposed by Mírzá Muḥammad. A little later, ad-Daqá'iqí also wrote a prose version of the *Sindbád-náma*, as H. Khalfa [11]) not only

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1) *Diwán-i-Azraqí* [Or. 3713 Br. Mus.] f 25*b* also *Lubáb*, pt. I, p. 318 *n.*:

شهریارا بنده اندر مدحت فرمان تو * گر تواند کرد بماند ز معنی ساحری

هر که پند شهریارا پندهای سندباد * بیك داند کاندرو دشوار باشد شاعری

من معانیهای او را ناور دانش کنم * گر کند بخت تو شاها خاطرم را یاوری

2) Ethé, Cat. Pers. Mss. Ind. Off. col. 714, No. 1236.

3) Loiseleur des Longchamps, *Essai sur les fables indiennes*, Paris, 1838, pp. 93–137.

4) *Asiatic Journal*, (1841) Vols. XXXV, p. 169 sq., and XXXVI, p. 4 sq. and 99 sq.

5) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 318–9.

6) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 91.

7) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 212.

8) See above, Notice No. (6).

9) Two coins dated 558 A. H., issued by this monarch are known and are described by Dorn in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, (St. Petersburg) 1881, Tome VIII, p. 734.

10) « و خصمان ملك و دولت و متعدّیان خطّهٔ توران در شهور سنه ست و [خم]سین بود ز مصاف »

11) *H. Khal.* Vol. III, p. 620, No. 7259.

distinguishes it from other versions but gives its beginning line, which owing to the loss of the first folio of aẓ-Ẓahírí's version cannot be compared, but is certainly an evidence of the existence of this version. This was composed during the reign of Jalálu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. al-Ḥusayn, also entitled Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán, who apparently succeeded the aforesaid Ruknu'd-Dín. Thus there is a difference of about 40 years between the composition of the former and the latter, and besides this a comparison of the apparently common anecdotes in the *Jawámiʿ* and aẓ-Ẓahírí's version, which follows, shows that al-ʿAwfí must have used a version other than aẓ-Ẓahírí's. From these arguments it is evident that two separate prose versions existed in the time of al-ʿAwfí: the former being rare, as he himself says in the *Lubáb*, he might have utilised ad-Daqá'iqí's.

Comparison of the common anecdotes in aẓ-Ẓahírí's version and the *Jawámiʿ*.

On a close comparison of the anecdotes in the *Jawámiʿ* pt. III, chs. xxiv–v, "On Unchaste and Impious Women", and "On the Wiles of Women" with the version of Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad aẓ-Ẓahírí, it is noticeable that, although the outlines of some of these stories are somewhat identical, yet they differ in essential details. For instance, an account of a person who was in the habit of studying the wiles of women and collecting works on this subject is common to both (**D.** f 288*b*. III. xxv. **1787**), cf. [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 101*b*–f 103*a*; and so is another story, mentioned in a different chapter, concerning the hudhud or hoopoe, that could not resist his destiny of falling a prey to a net, in spite of having noticed it (**D.** f 55*a*. IV. xiii. **1922**), cf. [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 129*a*–f 130*a*. At no point do we find direct or indirect indebtedness to this version. aẓ-Ẓahírí's version [1]) of these stories is highly decorated with the graces of language, and supplemented with Arabic and Persian verses, none of which are found in the anecdotes of the *Jawámiʿ*. This contrast is especially strengthened when we compare other anecdotes of a similar nature taken from the *Bakhtiyár-náma*. In any case, the version in al-ʿAwfí's hand was different from aẓ-Ẓahírí's; it might be that of ad-Daqá'iqí or an earlier one.

(25) b. The *Bakhtiyár-náma* [2]).

Account, origin, and versions of the *Bakhtiyár-náma*.

This work, also known as the Story of the Prince Bakhtiyár and the Ten Wazírs, which is apparently a purely Muslim imitation of the originally Indian Story of Sindbád or the Seven Wazírs, referred to once by al-ʿAwfí [3]), forms one of the direct sources of the *Jawámiʿ*; but it is difficult to decide which actual version was utilised by him.

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1) al-ʿAwfí writes about it in the following manner, *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 91: «و سندباد را بحلیت عارت تزیینی دادست و آن عروس زیبا را مشّاطهٔ فریحت او بخوترین دستی بر آورده» and aẓ Ẓahírí himself acknowledges this fact in his preface in connection with Qanáwarzí's version which he adorned [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] (ff 14) «فامّا عبارتش عظیم نارك بود و از تزیّن و تحلّی عاری و با آنکه در وی مجال را نسخهٔ مجال نبود و وسعت و تنوّق و تصنّع هیچ مشّاطه آن عروس زیبا را بیا[راسته] بود و در میدان فصاحت مرکب عبارت نرانده و ابن کلم و حکم و ابکار و عذاری را حلّه نساخته بود و حلیه نپرداخته و نزدیك بود که از صحائف ایّام تمام مدروس گردد و از حواشی روزگار بیکبار محو شود اکنون بفرّ (و) دولت قاهره احیاء پذیرفت و از سر طراوت گرفت و بتازگی رونق یافت»

2) See for the origin, history, versions, adaptations and bibliography of this work, Ethé in the *G.I.P.* II, pp. 323–5; J. Horovitz in the *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 602–3.

3) See above, Notice No. (25) a. p. 72 *n.* 3.

There is one short reference in the biography of the aforesaid Daqá'iqí[1] to a version prepared by him along with that of the *Sindbád-náma*; unfortunately neither of these has come down to us. It is possible that al-ʿAwfí might have used ad-Daqá'iqí's or any other earlier prose version of the *Bakhtiyár-náma*; since from the allusion to it, it appears that works of this nature were rather popular in those days. The oldest extant version of this story, according to Prof. Nöldeke's[2]) detailed researches, is in Persian prose, represented by the Leyden Codex [No. 593][3]), which, however, goes back to a still much earlier Persian original, as yet considered to be lost. This version was prepared by an unmentioned writer[4]) at the court of a hitherto unidentified prince of Samarqand named Táju'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Karím some time about 600 A. H. = 1204 A. D.. al-ʿAwfí, being in touch with the court of Samarqand at this period, as shown above (pp. 7–8), must have known of the existence of this work, but it cannot be ascertained after a comparison of the simple and direct style of these borrowed anecdotes with that of the extracts given by Prof. Nöldeke that he ever utilised it; on the contrary, the evidence points to the utilisation of a still much older text. On the older Persian originals are apparently based the different Arabic versions[5]); one of them is also found in the *Alfu Layla*[6]) and the Uigur[7]) text contained in [Huntingdon 598 Bodl.], dated 1435 A. D.. To a comparatively later period belongs the shorter version contained in [Ind. Off. 3053] f 17*a*–f 63*a* and [Ouseley 389 Bodl.] which also forms one of the bases of the Ouseley-Kazimirski[8]) Paris lithographed edition of the *Bakhtiyár-náma*. This version, though differing in the arrangement of the chapters and in the detailed exposition of the contents, and written in a very clear and simple style as contrasted with the older ones, is on the whole in agreement with its contents. Thus, just as the simplicity of style in the anecdotes borrowed by al-ʿAwfí is in favour of their being based on a still much older Persian original, so also the resemblance between al-ʿAwfí's version and the Ouseley-Kazimirski text strengthens the belief that the latter, though it took its final shape in India, still has its origin in the much older originals on which the Leyden Codex was based.

al-ʿAwfí's method of utilising the *Bakhtiyár-náma*.

Out of the ten *dástáns*, which the prince Bakhtiyár relates successively, in self-defence, in order to delay his execution and defeat the evil counsels of the ten wazírs, and which are addressed to the king who in the end is proved to be his real father

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1) *Lubab*, Pt. I, p. 212: «وبختیار نامه و سندباد را لباس عارت پوشانیده است»

2) ZDMG. Band XLV, pp. 97–143.

3) Unfortunately the present writer could not consult this Ms.

4) The text is marred, but the present writer ventures to suggest that on p. 108 of Nöldeke's article (*op. cit.*) the title of the work این مجموع را لُمْعَة السّراج لحَضْرة التّاج نام نهاده شد, is doubly indicative: the first part, *as-Siráj* probably stands for Siráju'd-Dín as the title of the author, just as the latter, *at-Táj* is evidently an honorific contracted title of his patron Táju'd-Dín.

5) See Basset, Contes arabes: *Histoire des dix Vesirs*, Paris 1883; P. A. Ṣalḥani, Contes arabes, Beyrout 1890.

6) Habicht's edition of *1001 Nacht* containing the Arabic text, (Band VI, pp. 191–343) identified in 1807 by G. Knós in the Gottingen edition: *Historia decem Vezirorum.*

7) A. Jaubert, Notice et Extrait de la Version Turque du Bakhtiyár-naméh etc. in the *Journal Asiatique* X, (1827) pp. 146–67.

8) Sir W. Ouseley published a text with its English translation in 1801, which was also re-edited after correction, by A. Biberstein-Kazimirski in 1839 A. D.; references to it are given in this notice.

and resigns in his favour, four are found in the *Jawámi'* under different chapters in a very abridged form. The plot of these stories is almost the same, and some of the minor details also correspond in both cases; but the mould, resetting, language and style are al-'Awfí's own. The elaborate thread of these stories, connected with the personality of Bakhtiyár, and the rambling details which run to an enormous length 5 in the original are all suppressed: and the stories in the *Jawámi'* stand as detached units representing single topics, befitting peculiarly the chapter-headings of the *Jawámi'*, which are almost identical with the original scheme of the *dástáns*. Thus in pt. II, ch. xiii, "On the Excellence of Patience" the *dástán* of Abú Ṣábir (ch. iv); in pt. III, ch. iii, "On the Contemptibility of Rancour and Envy", the *dástán* of Abú 10 Tammám (ch. ix); and in pt. III, ch. xx, "On the Contemptibility of Hastiness and the Advantages of Slowness", the two *dástáns* of the jewel-merchant and his calamitous haste (ch. viii) and of the hasty prince of Ḥalab (ch. iii) are suitably incorporated. The following are the parallel references to the Paris litho. 1839 A. D.:

(1) The calamities which befell Abú Ṣábir, his exemplary patience, his installation as 15 the ruler of his native place, and his vengeance, (**D.** f 143*b*. II. xiii. **1400**) cf. pp. 45, 47–55.

(2) The conspiracy of the four old wazírs of the ruler of Álán (?) against the king's new favourite Abú Tammám, and the destruction of the latter, which ultimately recoiled on the wazírs, (**D.** f 198*a*. III. ii. **1558**) cf. pp. 107, 110–117. 20

(3) The life-story of Rúzbih and Bihrúz, the two sons of the hasty jewel-merchant, (**D.** f 264*a*. III. xx. **1730**) cf. pp. 93–107.

(4) The calamitous haste of the prince of Ḥalab in his marriage with the daughter of the king of Egypt, (**D.** f 265*b*. III. xx. **1731**) cf. pp. 33–45.

(26). The *Siyásat-náma* [1]).

Relation of the *Jawámi'* to the *Siyásat-náma.*

Although this work of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk [2]) is not mentioned in the *Jawámi* by 25 this or by its other title of *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* [3]), yet the anecdotes in it offer a unique parallel to those in the various chapters of the *Jawámi'* dealing with justice, administration, punitive system, political art and good and bad traits of the various rulers; thus nearly three-fourths of the historical or quasi-historical illustrations in the *Siyásat-náma* are found in one form or another in the *Jawámi'*. It appears that al-'Awfí, 30 perceiving the design and character of the work, incorporated it and adapted the anecdotes as best suited his own purpose of illustrating his chapter-headings, regardless of the order, style, language and aim of the author of the original. There being no attempt at a systematic exposition of politics or events, and since neither the particular suggestions relating to the peculiar circumstances of the times nor the 35

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[1]) See for critical accounts of this work Ethé in *G. I. P.* II, pp. 347–8, Noldeke in ZDMG. XLVI (1892) pp. 761–8, Browne in *Lit. Hist. Pers.* II, pp. 212–7; references to Persian Text (= *N. S. N.*), French Translation (= *T. S. N.*), and *Supplément* (= *S. S. N.*) by C. Schefer, Paris, 1891, 1893, 1897 resp.

[2]) See various notices of him in *S. S. N.* and *Zubdatu'n-Nuṣra wa Nukhbatu'l-'Uṣra* ed. M. Th. Houtsma (1889), pp. 55–9 and *Kámil* (index), Vol. X, pp. 137–42.

[3]) *H. T. G.* (fasc.) p. 8; Ibn Isfandiyár, *History of Ṭabaristán* (Trans. Prof. Browne) p. 93.

general observations of the author in each section could be easily moulded into a story-form, al-ʿAwfí restricted his attention to the anecdotes alone, which the author of the original collected indiscriminately [1]) and probably later the editor either arranged or supplemented from works of the nature of "Counsels to the kings" [2]), referred to above in Notice No. (2) b, which were the traditional stock [3]) for such compilations in those days. Such allied sources being known to al-ʿAwfí and utilised invariably by him, we find therefore, even in some of the anecdotes enumerated below, an independent version, and in others a modified reproduction; thus similarity and variation of the versions of these common anecdotes are a double test for both the accuracy and sources of the *Siyasát-náma* and the *Jawámiʿ*.

Importance of the *Siyásat-náma*.

This work, usually known as a treatise on the "Art of Government" as its title [4]) also indicates, is not so much a handbook of politics as a memorandum [5]) submitted to a prince and advice given for a proper exercise of royal powers and efficient execution of the functions of other officials of a state, in which the ruler Malikshah Saljúqí (reigned 465–85 A. H. = 1072–92 A. D.) and the highest responsible official, the great Wazír Abú ʿAlí Ḥasan b. ʿAlí the Niẓámu'l-Mulk of Ṭús (b. 408 A. H. = 1018 A. D. killed 485 A H. = 1092 A. D.) felt the necessity of reforming the abuses and disorders that had crept into the government, and the corruption which threatened to ruin every other department of public administration. The importance of such a work can be fully realised when we consider the explicit occasion of the original draft [6]), the headings of the sections [7]), the general plan of the work, the accredited acceptance of it by Malikshâh, the zeal and earnestness with which the author exposes the existing evils and suggests remedies, his painful pre-occupation with the growth of the heretical sects as an imminent danger to Islám and the state [8]), his personal observations and illustrations, though somewhat distorted, and the exposition of the whole scheme as by an author of the opposite party But we cannot ignore other circumstantial facts and internal evidence when we seek to investigate the actual portion written by the Niẓámu'l-Mulk and estimate the present *Siyásat-náma*, usually regarded as the finished product of the great Wazír's pen.

Some considerations about its present version.

Apart from the strange absence of any contemporary or later authentic notice of this work in histories like the *Ráḥatu's-Ṣudúr* of ar-Ráwandí, the *Zubdatu'n-Nuṣra wa Nukhbatu'l-ʿUṣra* (compiled in 579 A. H. = 1183 A. D.) of ʿImádu'd-Dín al-Kátib al-Iṣfahání, the *Kámil* of Ibnu'l-Athir and the *Tajáribu's-Salaf* of Hindúsháh al-Kírání,

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1) *N. S. N.* p. 8: «آنچ بنده را فراز آمد از شنیده و دانسته و خوانده یاد کرده شود» and *N. S. N.* p. 204: «و بعضی ایشان بتمامت در تجارب الامم و تاریخ اصفهان و اخبار خلفای آل عباس بیامد»

2) Several anecdotes as pointed out by Schefer in his footnotes to *S. S. N.* are also found in the *Naṣiḥatu'l-Mulúk* of al-Ghazálí, a work written at least 13 years after the Niẓámu'l-Mulk's death.

3) ath-Thaʿálibí also wrote a book entitled *Síratu'l-Mulúk*, see *H. Khal.* Vol. III, p. 641, No. 7343 and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 286, No. 19, preserved in Gotha [No. 1886]; also above Notice No. (16) [s. v. *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*].

4) Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 210: «این است کتاب سیاست که ساخته آمد» p. 165: «در این کتاب سیر آورده»

5) See *N. S. N.* pp. 5–8, 163–6, 210–1.

6) *N. S. N.* Preface pp. 1–2.

7) *N. S. N.* pp. 3–5.

8) Six sections (xli, xliii–xlvii, pp. 138–56, 164–205) are especially devoted to this purpose.

the data, however incorrect, given by H. Khalfa [1]) appear to have a direct bearing on the earliest possible period of its composition [2]) (469 A.H.), on the number of sections (30) contained in the original draft, and on its recasting by a later and hitherto unidentified author al-Yamaní. Further, the statement about the addition [3]) of 11 sections to the already existing 39, the final revision by the author and the handing over of 5 the autograph for a fair copy on the eve of his fateful journey to Baghdád (485 A.H. = 1092 A.D.), the scanty time at the disposal of the author (484–5 A.H.) in which the work is said to have been composed, the delay of about 13 years caused by the unsettled affairs after the death of the Wazír and the King, in the final publication and dedication to Malikshâh II's son Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad in 498 A.H. = 10 1105 A.D., who had just ascended the Saljúq throne, and the fact that our information [4]) about its composition and transcription is entirely based on and connected with the old and obscure poet and transcriber of the Royal-Library of the Saljúqs, Muḥammad Maghribí [5]) — all this has to be considered along with the evidence in the work itself. The similarity between the editor's supplementary note to the list of the section-headings (p. 5) and the 15 concluding remarks of the author (p. 210), the confusion in the arrangement of sections and subject-matter in the latter part [6]) of the book, the occasionally faulty style, the rather betraying insertions of the editor [7]), the doubtful character [8]) and sources [9]) of

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1) Vol. III, p. 638–9. No. 7318: « سیرالملوک فارسی لنظام الملك حسن الوزير بن علیّ الطوسیّ المتوفّی سنة [٤٨٥] الّفه فی وزارته سنة ٤٦٩ للكشاه السلجوقیّ و جعله علی ثلاثین فصلا ثم جعله اليمنی (؟) خمسة عشر و وضع كل فصل موضعه ليكون علی خلاف وضع المؤلّف »

2) The date 469 A.H. indicates that four years had elapsed after the succession of Malikshâh.

3) It is hardly possible to know the additional sections, excepting that in xliii (p. 164) occurs: « بنده خواست كه فصلی چند در معنی خروج خارجیان یاد كند تا جهانیان بدانند كه بنده را درین دولت چه شفقت بوده است و بر مملكت سلجوق چه هوا و همّت دارد خاصّة بر خداوند عالم خلّد الله ملكه » آلخ which does not expressly imply addition or revision, but a mere continuation of the work. If 39 sections were written before, how could this insertion be reconciled therewith?

4) The Preface of Muḥammad Maghribí to the work (*N. S. N.* pp. 1–2.)

5) *N. S. N.* p. 213:

این بنده قدیمی و خطاط و مدح گوی * دارد حقوق خدمت سی ساله بیشتر
شعرش رسد بشعری و کارش رسد نظام * گر شه بسوی بنده برحمت کند نظر

6) The original arrangement of section xlii (pp. 156–64) "On the veiled inmates" etc. and of the last three sections xlviii–l (pp. 205–9) seems to be out of place. The subject-matter contained in the sections on heretics is, apart from historical accuracy, very disjointed; Mazdak (xliv) is considered as the first heresiarch in the world, then directly follows the account of Sinbád the Gabr (xlv), and then that of the Carmathians, Báṭinís, and other sects in various places (xlvi–xlvii).

The numeration of the sections as given in the present text, as well as in the translation, does not correspond with the original list given on pp. 3–5. Not only is section xl repeated on pp. 125, 131, but also xliv on pp. 138, 166; according to the list the intervening untitled *faṣl* on p. 130 should not occur and xl (pp. 131–8) "on titles" should immediately follow xl on p. 125, and xliv on p. 138 should bear the numeration xli.

7) ZDMG. *loc. cit.* p. 762; *N. S. N.*, pp. 136–7; p. 137, *l.* 9; p. 151, *l.* 1; p. 204, *ll.* 5–13.

8) *E.g.* Buzurjmihr is said to have survived the downfall of the Sásánids, (*N. S. N.* p. 159); Bahrám Chúbín is reported as the Wazír and dear friend of king Parwíz, who is also made the king of Rúm, (*N. S. N.* p. 67); Jaʿfar-i-Barmakí is made to appear at the court of the Caliph Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik the Umayyad, (*N. S. N.* p. 151); Yaʿqúb b. Layth is represented as threatening to bring the Fáṭimid rival of the ʿAbbásid Caliph al-Muʿtamid (who reigned from 870 until 892 A.D.) from Mahdiyya, which was not founded until 910 A.D. (*N. S. N.* p. 12). Several other errors are pointed out by Nöldeke (ZDMG. *loc. cit.* pp. 766–7).

9) On p. 204 the *Tajáribu'l-Umam* is referred to for other details: but the account of the Carmathians

the anecdotes, and the author's downright denunciations of the Báṭinís and other heretical sects set us thinking whether we should rely on all the information contained in the *Siyásat-náma.* Muḥammad Maghribí has a larger share than is generally supposed in augmenting the bulk of the book, especially in the anecdotal illustrations, and the present arrangement of the work is probably his rather than the Wazír's.

Comparison of common anecdotes.

A comparative analysis of the common anecdotes, some of which are borrowed from this and other allied sources yields the following results [1]:

(1) The story of the scrupulous care of the deaf king of Chín in ordering that red clothes should be worn by the plaintiffs only, as told by a holy person before the Caliph al-Manṣúr, (**A.** f 124*b.* I. vi. **392**). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 10, where the anecdote is given in quite a different setting and version.

(2) ʿAmr b. Layth the Ṣaffárid tempts Ismáʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid with the bequeathed treasures of his brother Yaʿqúb before being sent as a prisoner to the Caliph al-Muʿtamid; but Ismáʿíl refuses them on the ground that they were obtained by extortion, and that if he accepts them, the onus of responsibility will fall on him on the Day of Reckoning, (**A.** f 123*a.* I. vi. **383**) [2] (**D.** f 153*b.* II. xvi. **1434**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 16–17.

(3) Ismáʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid's scruples about justice and his habit of staying out in severe winter and snow, alone on horseback, in order to be easily accessible to the poor and the oppressed. In one such outing, he finds one of his camels grazing in the field of a peasant, upon which he readily pays damages to him for this trespass, (**A.** f 135*a.* I. vii. **442**) Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 17, where the former part of the anecdote corresponds, but the latter part which is the actual point of illustration is omitted; from this it appears that either the story was left incomplete in *N. S. N.* or al-ʿAwfí borrowed it from another independent source.

(4) The year of severe drought and famine in Iṣṭakhr, and the Kisrá Bahrám's magnanimity and relief to the distressed, whereby peace and plenty are restored to the kingdom, (**A.** f 130*b.* I. vii. **420**). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 18, where the story is told in brief and the ruler is mentioned as Qubád, and the period of famine as seven years; here again the sources appear identical, but the versions differ.

(5) The misrule of Rást-rawish, the dishonest Wazír of Bahrám Gúr, and the painful awakening of the king from his gaiety at the attack of the Khán of Turkistán, and the lesson drawn by him from the act of the shepherd who hanged his dog for having betrayed his master, (**A.** f 119*a.* I. vi. **364**); (**D.** f 251*a.* III. xvi. **1704**), cf.

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given in *N. S. N.* (pp. 183–7) hardly resembles the one given in the *Tajáribu'l-Umam* of Miskawayh (see Gibb facs. VII, 5, pp. 30–32).

1) For the sake of a systematic study the order of the *Siyásat-náma* is retained, but the purport of the story according to the version of the *Jawámiʿ* is given, and points of similarity and divergence are briefly noted.

2) Cf. also *T. S. N.* pp. 20–1, ZDMG. (*loc. cit.* p. 766–7); *Sketches from Eastern History* (pp. 201–3). In the *Siyásat-náma*, apart from real historical information, even the Eastern tradition about Yaʿqúb and ʿAmr, the Ṣaffárids, is erroneously represented. In the *Jawámiʿ*, as pointed out in Notice No. (11) on the *Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* (see above pp. 44–7), various other authentic traditions regarding the Ṣaffárids are preserved. This story of the treasures of ʿAmr is probably drawn from the *Siyásat-náma* and has found its way through it into many other works.

N. S. N. pp. 19–22. This anecdote is told twice in the *Jawámi*ᶜ; on one occasion it is ascribed to Bahrám Gúr as in *N. S. N.* and here, while in the second version, which makes no reference to the former statement, Rást-rawish is made the Wazír of Gushtásp. In *N. S. N.* this story is told in a very elaborate form along with other stories of the machinations of Rást-rawish.

(6) An old woman's complaint to Núshírwán against the tyrannical acquisition of her land by the governor of Ádharbáyján for erecting his own palace and Nushírwán's exemplary punishment, (**A.** f 119*b*. I. vi. **365**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 28–35, where the story covers nearly 13 pages and is full of rambling details; probably al-ᶜAwfí has abridged it from *N. S. N.* as a few expressions are similar.

(7) Núshírwán's redress-bell and the justified complaint of the old ass, (**A** f 124*a*. I. vi. **390**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 35–7, where this device for public redress was adopted after the offence of the governor of Ádharbáyján; whereas in the *Jawámi*ᶜ it is adopted in consequence of Núshírwán's consultation with his Wazír about the shortness of the life of a hawk owing to its cruelty and the best method of prolonging life by enabling the victims of oppression to obtain justice quickly and easily.

(8) The time-honoured Persian custom of open-court on Nawrúz and Mihrgán adopted by ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir Dhu'l-Yamínayn, (**A.** f 129*a*. I. vii. **412**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 39–40, where the origin of this institution is traced. A similar account is given in the *Naṣíḥatu'l-Mulúk* of al-Ghazálí (*T. S. N.* p. 59).

(9) ᶜUmára b. Ḥamza (d. 199 A. H. = 814/5 A. D.) prefers to renounce his ownership of an estate claimed by his opponent rather than give up the exalted position in which he had been installed by the Caliph al-Manṣúr, (**D.** f 118*b*. II. v. **1295**). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 40, where the story is placed in the court of the Caliph al-Wáthiq, which as pointed out by Schefer is wrong (*T. S. N.* p. 60). This anecdote is also found in the *Naṣíḥatu'l-Mulúk* and corresponds very closely with the version given in the *Jawámi*ᶜ, where another instance of the high-mindedness of ᶜUmára is also added to the above one.

(10) The story of the pious tailor, the significance of his prayer-call at an unusual hour and the ready submission of one of the tyrannical generals of the Caliph al-Muᶜtadhid's Turkish guards to the demand of his creditor, a helpless merchant of Baghdád, at the immediate call of the tailor, (**A.** f 126*a*. I. vi. **399**). Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, pp. 17–9; *N. S. N.* pp. 45–54. This anecdote is undoubtedly borrowed by al-ᶜAwfí from the *Faraj* as the version and literal Persian rendering of the story indicate; but it is also found in *N. S. N.* where it is set in the Caliphate of al-Muᶜtaṣim, and is treated at greater length and differs from the version of *al-Faraj*.

(11) The Sultan Maḥmúd gives strict orders to his son Masᶜúd to arrest and exterminate the band of robbers belonging to the Kúch and Balúch[1]), in the forest of

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[1]) Schefer (*loc. cit.*) has identified them with the قُفْص و بَلُوْص, but the derivation of these words is uncertain, (*Y. M. B.* Vol. IV, pp. 147–51). There lived a wild tribe of Kurds in the mountains of Kirmán from the earliest days of Islám and even before that till the time of ᶜAdhudu'd-Dawla, and even later in the days of Quṭubu'd-Dín (reigned 651–5 A. H.) the Qará Khitáy ruler of Kirmán, who exterminated them (see *H. T. G.* (facs.) pp. 180, 399, 418, 530).

Khabíș[1]) in Kirmán, which Mas'úd does by a surprise attack. (**A.** f 186*a*. I. xiii. **732**). The Sultan Mas'úd kills a band of robbers in Kirmán by means of poisoned apples. (**A.** f 186*b*. I. xiii. **733**), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 58–65, *H. T. G.* p. 399. These two stories are given in the *Siyásat-náma* in a connected form with other details about Maḥmúd's request to Abu 'Alí b. Ilyás, and the success of his own efforts, 5 assisted by his son's skill, in overcoming this band of robbers The details are different and probably the sources also.

(12) Parwíz's rebuke to Bahrám Chúbín for punishing a servant and his ironical suggestion to sheathe two swords in one case, (**D.** f 7*b* IV. ii. **1801**) Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 67, where Parwíz is made the king of Rúm and Bahram Chubín his Wazír and a beloved 10 friend, which, as pointed out by Schefer (*T. S. N* p. 101) and Nöldeke (ZDMG. *loc. cit.* p. 766), is unhistorical. The details about the present of 300 red-haired camels to Bahram Chúbín and the picking up of 2 swords out of 150 are entirely missing in the *Jawámi'*, and Bahram Chúbín is simply mentioned as one of the best warrior-athletes of Parwíz. 15

(13) How 'Adhudu'd-Dawla the Daylamite, at the report of the dishonesty of the chief Qádhí, devised means to detect it, entrapped and disgraced the Qádhí, and made him disgorge to a belated claimant the two jugs of gold deposited in his charge, (**A.** f 122*b*. I. vi. **382**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 69–77, where the story is told at much greater length and details about the youth's adventures and the coaxing of the 20 Qádhí are amplified. The story in its outline is the same in both, but al-Awfí's source is different as his version appears to be an independent and abridged translation from some other earlier work.

(14) A similar complaint before the Caliph al-Mu'tadhid about the dishonesty of a Qádhí who tampered with a purse of 1000 *dinárs* deposited by a pilgrim, and 25 how the Caliph tore his own turban and detected the secret of the Qádhí through an expert mender of clothes in the town, (**A.** f 122*a*. I. vi. **381**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 77–80, where the ruler is mentioned as the Sultan Maḥmúd and a few details are changed. Again, like the previous anecdote, this one is also drawn by both from similar sources independently and the stories are coloured according to individual 30 tastes. The source being unknown, it cannot be said which version is more reliable.

(15) A Háshimí excuses his son on account of his witty reply when questioned about his rowdiness while intoxicated, (**A.** f 207*b*. I. xvi. **901**). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118; the story is short in both and agrees very closely.

(16) How Bárbad the musician saved the life of a condemned criminal by a witty 35 reply to the king Parwíz, (**A.** f 203*b*. I. xvi. **855**). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118; where the story is related on the authority of [Ibn] Khurdádbih, and Bázíd (بازيد) instead of Bárbad (باربد) is mentioned (see *T. S. N.* p. 173 *n.* 3).

(17) Núshírwán, pleased at the witty replies of an old man who was planting a nutmeg tree, rewards him amply, (**D.** f 200*a*. III. iii. **1561**). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118–9, where 40

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[1]) *T. S. N.* p. 89. Schefer identifies Dayr-i-Gachín mentioned in the *Siyásat-náma* with Dayru'l-jass, but according to A. it is حيص without a point under the first letter; the description of this place is given fully in *Y. M. B.* Vol. II, p. 401 which corresponds with the one in the *Jawámi'*.

the story is similar though a few details differ; both appear to have been drawn from identical sources. Another version probably adopted from the above is related in the *Jawámi'* in connection with the Caliph Hárún and his rewards for the witty replies of an old man who described his age as four years only, and the reason for planting a nutmeg tree at such an advanced age. (**A.** f 206*b*. I. xvi. **887**). 5

(18) 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Khál a courtier of the Sultan Maḥmúd falsely accuses a sage of Herát of idolatry and drinking; the Sultan, after due deliberation, without having summoned the sage, interrogates 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán on oath, upon which he confesses his malicious motive of acquiring the palace of the sage, and thereby the Sultan is saved from punishing an innocent and holy person, (**D.** f 268*a*. III. xx. **1735**). 10 Cf. *N. S. N.* pp 120–1, where from an allusion to 'Bikrek' and the Sultan *Shahíd*, Schefer has identified the king as Alp Arslán, but 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Khál as the maternal uncle of Alp Arslán is not yet known (cf. *T. S. N.* p. 177 *n.*) except through the *Siyásat-náma*, whereas in the *Jawámi'* he is expressly mentioned as a courtier of the Sultan Maḥmúd. Most probably the version of the *Siyásat-* 15 *náma* is correct and al-'Awfí, although he borrowed the anecdote from here, did not examine closely the accuracy of his statement.

(19) An account of the doings of the two public prosecutors appointed by the Caliph al-Ma'mún who presented a striking contrast in their character, temper and reputation, (**D** f 240*a*. III. xiii. **1682**). (See above p. 48, The *Ta'ríkh-i-Ál-i-'Abbás* is mentioned 20 as the source). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 122–5; no source is mentioned and the story is evidently taken from the above, as a reference to it occurs in *N. S. N.* p. 204. This is again an instance of a common source being utilised by both independently, as the rendering into Persian and arrangement under different headings from different points of view clearly indicate. 25

(20) Zayd b. Aslam's account of a night patrol of the Caliph 'Umar, during which they heard the plaintive cry of a widow against the Caliph, as she was beguiling her sons to sleep by the pretence of cooking food for them, and the Caliph's speedy succour and humble supplication to her, (**D.** f 156*a* II. xvi. **1440**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 128–9. The story agrees in both very closely, and there is another 30 similar story in the *Jawámi'* reported by Suwayd b. 'Alqama in a different manner, (**A.** f 123*a*. I. vi. **386**).

(21) How a cruel governor of the time of the Sultan Maḥmúd attained his redemption in the next world by a single act of kindness he had shown to a dog suffering from scab, (**D.** f 124*b*. II. vii. **1320**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 129–30, where the governor's 35 name is mentioned as Rashíd the *Ḥájji*. There is no verbal resemblance between the texts of this story, whereas in the *Jawámi'* it is given in a fuller form with minor details not found in the *Siyásat-náma* and is, probably, drawn from identical sources.

(22) The Sultan Maḥmúd, jealous of the numerous titles bestowed by the Caliph (al- 40 Qádir bi'llah) on the Khán of Samarqand, contrives illegitimate means, procures a few of the mandates of the Caliph from the court of Samarqand and sends to the Caliph pointing out the Khán's insult in order to excite his wrath and extort titles for himself, (**A.** f 218*b*. I. xviii. **998**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 131–6, where this anecdote

is told at a much greater length and with minute details, not found in the *Jawámi*, about the secret mission of the wily women who obtained the mandate from the court of Samarqand, and in the end how the Caliph, in spite of his resentment, had to award Maḥmúd the title of *Amínu'l-Milla* in addition to the already bestowed *Yamínu'd-Dawla*; but there are many similar expressions from which 5 we can infer that al-ʿAwfí borrowed it from *N. S. N.*. There are two other anecdotes in the *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** f 218*b*. I. xviii. **996–7**) previous to this, in which persistent efforts of Maḥmúd to extort titles from the Caliph are mentioned. One of them relates the threat to the Caliph and the counter-stroke of the Caliph by the letter of آلم, and the other, as to how the title of *Mawláy* (مولای) was changed 10 into *Wálí* (والی) at the clever suggestion of · Ḥasnak, the governor of Nishápúr.

(23) Alp Arslán the Saljúq ruler's prudence in suppressing the Báṭinís illustrated by his rebuke to Árdim on appointing the Dih Khudáy of Ába, the Báṭiní, as his personal secretary, (**D.** f 151*b*. II. xv. **1427**) cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 139–41. This anecdote and the previous one (No. 18) about ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán Khál, which throw light on 15 the policy and deliberate action of Alp Arslán, are typical of the *Siyásat-náma*. Besides others which are common to the *Jawámiʿ* and *Siyásat-náma*, these two instances afford us concrete data for the direct indebtedness of al-ʿAwfí to the work of Niẓámu'l-Mulk. In *N. S. N.* the name of the Dih Khudáy is mentioned as Yaḥyá, and full details about Alp Arslán's precautions and the Niẓámu'l-Mulk's 20 fears of the growing danger to the state, and Árdim's experiment with pieces of cord one by one till at last a number of cords when spun into a rope could not be broken by him, are given; but apart from slight variation and abridgement the wording of the story in the *Jawámiʿ* is almost identical.

(24) The story of the first appearance of Barmak of Balkh at the court of ʿAbdu'l- 25 Malik b. Marwán, and how he was disgraced for carrying on him poison which affected the wondrous poison-detecting armlet of the Caliph; and a similar story related in this connection by Barmak about the wondrous silver fish of the ruler of Gurgán that possessed the peculiar property of attracting a ruby which was thrown into the sea, whereupon the Caliph acquired the fish from the ruler 30 of Gurgán and took Barmak into his favour; but after ʿAbdu'l-Malik's death, his son Hishám conferred some estates on Barmak, for which reason he settled in ʿIráq and Shám, (**D.** f 79*a*. IV. xx. **2003**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 151–5, also *Q. A. M.* pp. 218–9. In the *Siyásat-náma*, as Schefer (*T. N. S.* p. 224) and Nöldeke (ZDMG. *loc. cit.* p. 766) have pointed out, the author curiously enough makes "Jaʿfar b Barmak" 35 (assassinated 187 A. H. = 803 A. D.) a contemporary of the Caliph Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik (reigned 96–9 A. H. = 715–7 A. D.); the same anachronism is committed by Zakariyyá Qazwíní, who without verifying it has entirely reproduced the same story; but al-ʿAwfí, whatever the real circumstances of the first appearance of Barmak may be, has set the story in the court of the Caliph ʿAbdu'l-Malik 40 b. Marwán (reigned 65–86 A. H. = 685–705 A. D.) and has drawn this story from some other earlier source, which in its wording and contents differs materially from that given by the Niẓámu'l-Mulk.

(25) The unlawful passion of Súdába for her step-son Siyáwush, her failure and revenge and Kay-Ká'ús's wrath against her, (**A.** f 55*b*. I. iv. **138**), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 157–8. This story is told at length in the *Jawámi'* and is borrowed from the *Ghurar* pp. 168–212; whereas in *N. S. N.* it is very short and differs in its form considerably. This is an instance of an account which is entirely independent of *N. S. N.* 5

(26) An Israelite sage wastes the three chances of effective prayer given to him by the Lord by consulting and carrying out the wishes of his foolish wife, (**D.** f 283*b*. III. xxiv. **1780**). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 160–2, where the story is told in connection with the wives of the Prophet, 'Á'isha and Ḥafṣa, and is designated the story of Yúsuf and Kirsif. In the *Jawámi'* it is told in a similar chapter, but in connection 10 with the *Qur'ánic* verse (vii, 174).

(27) A detailed account of Mazdak: his early appearance in the reign of Qubád, his contrivance to make the fire speak and Qubád's acceptance and public proclamation of his communistic doctrines, Núshírwán's protest and consultation with the Múbad of Fárs to dissuade his father, the encounter of the Múbad of Fárs 15 with Mazdak, the exposure of the latter's secret and dark designs against Qubád, Qubád and Núshírwán's effort to overcome Mazdak, the grand feast and the skilful extermination of the Mazdakites, and the accession of Núshírwán to the throne, (**D.** f 220*b*. III. viii. **1623**), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 166–81. The whole account agrees entirely and even the expressions are similar; but al-'Awfí does not call Mazdak as 20 in *N. S. N.* the first heresiarch in the world, and has recounted in this chapter, previous to this account, the anecdotes of Zoroaster and Manes, the latter being entirely based on the *Átháru'l-Báqiya* (pp. 207–9), whereas in *N. S. N.* (pp. 166, 204) a *Ta'ríkh-i-Iṣfahán* [1]) is referred to for further details. The account of Mazdak being marred by a big lacuna in the text of the *Áthár*, we cannot 25 actually determine the source of the anecdote in the *Jawámi'*; but the later accounts of Máh-áfaríd and al-Muqanna' are similar to those given in the *Áthár* [2]). The accounts of al-Muqanna' and Bábak al-Khurramí given in *N. S. N.* differ entirely from the versions in the *Jawámi'*; the latter are more reliable than those in *N. S. N.*

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(27). The *Kitábu'sh-Shabábi-wa'sh-Shayb.*

The *Shabáb wa'sh-Shayb* as a direct source of the *Jawámi'*.

This work of Abú 'Abdi'llah Muḥammad b. 'Imrán b. Músá b. Sa'íd b. 'Abdi'llah, one of the great Mu'tazilite writers, generally known by his patronymic and *nisba* as al-Marzubání, who lived between 296 or 297–378 or 384 A. H. = 908/9 or 910–988/9 or 994 A. D., like most of his other writings, which are now lost and very little known beyond

1) Identification of this work is difficult; probably the Arabic original of Mufadhdhal b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Máfarrukhí entitled the *Risálatu Maḥásin i-Iṣfahán* composed in 421 A. H. = 1030 A. D. is meant, of which an enlarged Persian version by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abu'r-Ridhá al-Ḥusayní al-'Alawí made in 729 or 730 A. H. = 1329/30 A. D. has come down to us. Two Mss. of the latter are preserved, one by the Royal Asiatic Society [No. 180] described fully by Prof. Browne in JRAS. (1901) pp. 411–46; the other, which is in the Schefer collection (Cat. No. 1573), is identified by M. E. Blochet in Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Tome I, p. 308, No. 502.

2) See above, Notice No. (1) a, and below, the *Table of Contents* Pt. III, ch. viii, for parallel references.

scrappy accounts in various biographical and bibliographical works [1]), forms one of the direct sources of al-'Awfí, as he emphasises its importance and directs the attention of his patron-wazír towards his own special endeavour and erudition in utilising such works in his compilation [2]). Fortunately, a small portion of this work is preserved for us in the *Jawámi'*, in the chapter "On the Account of Longevity in Animals": (D. ff 61*b*–64*b*. IV. xv. 1947–61), from which we can partly judge the nature of its contents.

A short account of its author, al-Marzubání.

A contemporary and reliable account of al-Marzubání is given by Ibnu'n-Nadím who survived him and speaks of him as the last of the proficient and veritable authors amongst the "Akhbáriyyún" whom he had seen, and enumerates about fifty of his works on different subjects, among which the *Shabáb wa'sh-Shayb* is said to contain nearly 300 folios. Then as-Sam'ání, giving an account of his accomplishments in literature and Tradition, with a list of those from whom he acquired the latter, recounts the extreme regard of 'Adhudu'd-Dawla for him, and the immense provision which al-Marzubání had at his house for learned men who used to lodge with him, and his habit of drinking date-wine and writing enormously, and lastly remarks about the Mu'tazilite tendencies in his works. Then Ibn Khallikán adds that he was the first to collect the Díwán of the Caliph Yazíd b. Mu'áwiya, a fact which, in spite of his strong Shí'a tendencies, indirectly reveals his extreme sense of appreciation for exquisite Arabian poetry.

Its identification and relation to other similar works.

As regards the identification and the full contents of this work our information is very scanty. Prof. Brockelmann has altogether omitted the works of al-Marzubání; even Ign. Goldziher, while tracing the influence of Abú Ḥátim Sahl b. Muḥammad as-Sijistání's (d. 250 A. H. = 864 A. D.) *Kitábu'l-Mu'ammarín* [3]), does not say anything about al-Marzubání's work in this connection, and passes on to other later works, either bearing similar titles or contents. Amongst these he first mentions the work of 'Alí b. al-Ḥusayn ash-Sharíf al-Murtadhá [4]), the famous Shí'a divine (d. 436 A. H. = 1044/5 A. D.), entitled *ash-Shiháb fi'sh-Shaybi-wa'sh Shabáb* [5]) as the first one particularly devoted to the *Mu'ammarún*-literature, and conjectures that it probably has an implied reference to the *Kitábu'sh-Shaybi-wa'sh Shayb* of Abú Bakr ibn Khayr (?); but, apparently, this title originated from al-Marzubání and was adopted by these later writers.

Its contents, importance, and preserved portion.

The contents of this work are indicated in a general way by the division in the title

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1) See for further details about the life and works of al-Marzubání the following works on which this notice is based: *Fihrist* pp. 132–4; *Ansáb* (facs.) p. 512*a*; *Y. I. A.* Vol. VII (in the Press); *Ibn Khal.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 658, pp. 50–1. Altogether omitted in Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.*

2) D. f 62*a*, f 63*a*. IV. xv. 1948, 1958: «ابو عبد الله محمّد بن عمران] المورباني [read المرزباني] كتابي تاليف كرده است در شباب و شيب و اسامي جماعتي كه ايشان بدرازي عمر مخصوص بوده اند در آنجا آورده است ..... (= C. f 395*a*) و ذكر اين جماعت از كتاب شيب و شباب [read الشباب و الشيب] نبشته آمد و ارباب فضل دانند كه اين ذكر از فائدة خالي نيست و رأي عالي ملك الوزرائ را ..... معلوم [با]شد كه اين دعاگوي در چندين دريا غوص كرده است» آلخ

3) See for a critical estimate of this work and its author, Ign. Goldziher's excellent 'Einleitung' to his edition of this work, Leyden, 1899, (= *S. K. M.*) esp. p. lxi in this connection.

4) See for a complete biography of him, *Rawdhátu'l-Jannát fi Aḥwáli'l-'Ulamá'i-wa's-Sádát* (Litho. 1307 A. H.). On p. 385 this work is mentioned as the *Kitábu'sh-Shaybi-wa'sh-Shabáb.*

5) Published along with *Salwatu'l-Ḥarif* of al-Jáḥiẓ (Constantinople 1302 A. H.).

itself, that of "*Shabáb*" and "*Shayb*", and by this division it is to be understood that, at any rate, a part of the work was devoted to those who died young; but from the account given by al-ʿAwfí and the extracts in the *Jawámiʿ* and the actual agreement of most of the cited verses with those in the unique and earliest extant *Kitábu'l-Muʿammarín*, it is certain that this work lies directly in the line of literary semi- 5 historico-biographical works called the "*Muʿammarún*" or the accounts of the long-lived, and it is most probable that it is directly influenced by as-Sijistání's work. Its value lies mostly in the pedigrees, in the oldest citations from the pre-Islamic poets regarding the events of their own lives, and in the revelation of some of the Jáhiliyya traditions, notwithstanding the incredible number of years these people are said to have lived. Along 10 with others, these fourteen sketches, some of which are devoid of all biographic information except the name and the age, are analysed in the *Table of Contents* (Pt. IV, ch. xx) and parallel references are given to the biographies in the *Kitábu'l-Muʿammarín*, which affords an excellent opportunity of emending the corrupt text of these anecdotes even in the oldest Mss. of the *Jawámiʿ*. 15

(28). The *Kitábu-Sharafu'n-Nabí*.

Difficulties in the identification of this source

This is one of those sources of the *Jawámiʿ* that cannot be identified properly for the following reasons: firstly, its title [1]) is uncertain owing to different readings in the Mss.; secondly, the name of the author is not mentioned; thirdly, it is variously designated by later authorities [2]); fourthly, several other works [3]) of similar titles and contents were written by different authors between the 4th and 6th century A.H.; 20 fifthly, there is only one anecdote which is borrowed from it with acknowledgment; and lastly, the verification of the facts mentioned in it is extremely difficult owing to the obscurity and doubtful reading of the name of the person, Zayd b. Sa na [4]), with whose conversion the anecdote is connected, even though according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalání it was related by many important traditionists. This anecdote is arranged 25 in the chapter on '*Ḥilm*' in illustration of the extraordinary self-control and clemency

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1) A. f 10*a*: كتاب شرف البنى; B. f 155*b*: كعاب شرف البى; C. f 88*b*: كتاب شرف السنن; D. f 105*b*: (*sic*) كتاب شرف السان; G. f 180*b*: كتاب شرف السه

2) adh-Dhahabí, *Ta'ríkhu'l-Islám* [Or. 49 Br. Mus.] f 59*a*: كتاب دلائل النبوة; as-Samʿání, *Ansáb* (facs.) p. 195*b*: كتاب فى دلائل النبوه; Muḥibbu'd-Dín aṭ-Ṭabarí, *ar-Riyáḏhu'n-Naḏhira* (Leyden Cat. IV, pp. 80–1): شرف النبوه; *H. Khal.*, Vol. IV, p. 44, Nos. 7556: شرف المصطفى, 7558: شرف النبوة The above are the various titles of the same work of Abú Saʿd al-Khargúshí.

3) Some of them are found in various European libraries, *viz.* The *Dalá'ilu'n-Nubuwwa* of Abú Nuʿaym Iṣbahání [Or. 3012 Br. Mus.], and of Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí al-Bayhaqí [Or. 3013 Br. Mus.], and the *Kitábu'l-Wafá fí Sírati'l-Muṣṭafá* [Pet. 255 Berlin] of Abu'l-Faraj ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán al-Jawzí, probably the same work which H. Khalfa mentions as the *Sharafu'l-Muṣṭafá*; while others of the title of *Dalá'ilu'n-Nubuwwa* of different authors are enumerated in *H. Khal.*, Vol. III, pp. 236–7. No. 5129, and a *Sharafu'n-Nabí* is quoted in *D. T. S.* p. 7.

4) About whom Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalání writes in *al-Iṣába fí Tamyízi'ṣ-Ṣaḥába* (Bib. Indica, Vol. XX) Pt. II, p. 52, Biog. No. 2889: «زيد بن سعنة الحبر الاسرائيلي، اختلف فى سعنة فقيل بالنون و قيل بالتحتانية قال ابن عبدالبر بالنون اكثر، روى قصة اسلامه الطبرانى و ابن حبّان و الحاكم و ابو الشيخ فى كتاب اخلاق النبىّ صلّى الله عليه و آله و سلّم و غيرهم» الخ

of the Prophet towards a Jew, named Zayd [b.] Shuʿba [1]) or Shíʿa or Saʿba or Saʿna, a friend of ʿAbdu'llah b. Salám, who, after having read and verified the various attributes of the Prophet in the *Tawrát,* wanted to test the description "that his clemency will outstrip his anger and that the rudeness of the ignorant will only increase his clemency" [2]), and with this motive he offered a loan and demanded payment from 5 him before it was due, using strong provocation and casting a slur upon his reputation on the occasion of a public funeral; upon which ʿUmar enraged at his insolence wanted to finish him off there and then, but the Prophet forbade him and asked him to pay twenty measures extra as penance for his threat; and thereby the Jew, convinced of the Prophet's meekness, repented and accepted Islám, (D. f 105*b*. II. iv. 1231). 10 The anecdote is related by ʿAbdu'llah [3]) b. Salám b. al-Ḥárith, also a convert from the Banú Qaynuqáʿ, the account of whose conversion together with similar stories is given in almost every work of Tradition; but this Zayd's conversion [4]) is not traceable to Ibn Hishám, al-Wáqidí, Ibn Saʿd, al-Bukhárí or aṭ-Ṭabarí.

Probable authorship.

As regards the authorship of this work, most of the authorities enumerated above 15 agree that the *Kitábu-Sharafu'n-Nabí* [5]) or *Nubuwwa* was written by the famous preacher Abú Saʿd ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Abí ʿUthmán Muḥammad b. Ibráhím al-Khargúshí [6]) an-Níshápúrí (d. 407 A. H. = 1016 A. D.). His work is extant both in the Arabic original and in a Persian translation, and Ahlwardt [7]) and Rieu [8]) have given full accounts of it; but unfortunately from the accessible Br. Mus. Ms. [Or. 3014] nearly half of the 20 chapters are missing, and similarly the Persian Translation [9]) [Ancien Fonds Persan 82 Bib. Nat.] by Najmu'd-Dín [correctly Zaynu'd-Dín [10])] Maḥmúd [b. Muḥammad] b. ʿAlí ar-Ráwandí, the maternal uncle of the author of the *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr*, contains only 61 chapters out of the original 90; so that this anecdote is found in neither of these two Mss. 25

Anecdote traceable to the *Dalá'ilu'n-Nubuwwa* of Abú Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahání.

But in the *Kitáb Dalá'ilu'n-Nubuwwa* [11]) [Or. 3012 Br. Mus.] of the Ḥáfiẓ Abú Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbdu'llah b. Aḥmad b. Isḥáq al-Iṣbahání (b. 336 A.H. = 948 A.D.

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1) A. f 10*a* = C. f 88*a* زيد شعبه; D. f 105*a*, f 106*a* زيد شيبه; K. f 279*a* زيد سعنه; [Or. 3012 Br. Mus.] ff 45*b*–46*a* زيد بن سعنه cf. Ibn Ḥajar (*loc. cit*).

2) A. C. D. سبق حلمه [read حلمه] غيظه و لا يزيده [read يزيده] جهل الجاهل الا حلما

3) Ibn Hishám, *Síratu Rasúli'llah*, ed. F. Wustenfeld (= *H. S. R.*), Vol. I, pp. 352–4, and for other references see J. Horovitz's article on him in *Ency. Islam.* Vol. I, pp. 30–1.

4) According to Ibn Ḥajar (*loc. cit.*) this story has been related by many earlier authors and has been incorporated by Abu'sh-Shaykh (probably referring to Aḥmad b. Fáris b. Zakariyyá, see *Y. I. A.*, vol. II, pp. 7–8 in his *Kitáb Akhláqu'n-Nabí*, a collection of traditions regarding the Morals of the Prophet, very similar to the works enumerated above; and even Ibn Saʿd is said to have related it in an impersonal form.

5) The present writer is indebted to M. L. Massignon for having kindly directed his attention towards its probable author al-Khargúshí.

6) *Ansáb* (facs.) pp. 193*b*, 195*b*; *Y. M. B.* Vol. II, pp. 421, 425; Brock. *Gesch Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 200, 521.

7) Verzeichniss der arabischen Hss. der Konigl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, Band IX, p. 138–141. Nos. 9571–2. The present writer was not able to consult these Mss.

8) Suppl. Ar. Mss. Br. Mus. pp. 307–9, No. 509, for a life of al-Khargúshí also.

9) M. E. Blochet, Cat. Mss. Persans. Bib. Nat. Paris. Vol. I, p. 249.

10) See *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr* ed. Dr. M. Iqbál, Preface, p. xvii, *n.*

11) Suppl. Ar. Mss. Br. Mus. pp. 309–11, No. 510; also printed at Ḥaydarábád, Dakan.

d. 430 A. H. = 1038 A. D.), the famous author of the *Ḥilyatu'l-Awliyá'* [1]), this anecdote occurs under the heading of the Account of the Prophet in the Older Books, on ff 45*b*–46*b*, with little variations from the version given in the *Jawámiʿ*. The name of the Jew occurs nearly seven times as Zayd b Saʿna, and at the end it is added that Zayd witnessed many battles with the Prophet and died fighting in the Battle of Tabúk [2]) (in 9 A.H.); for this reason this Zayd cannot be identified with Zayd b. al-Luṣayt [3]) or al-Luṣayb of the Banú Qaynuqá, who according to Ibn Hishám [4]) and others was one of the calumniators of the Prophet and died a *Munáfiq*; and further Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalání [5]) distinctly calls him Zayd b. Saʿnatu'l-Khayr al-Isrá'ílí.

(29). The *Ṭabáʾiʿu'l-Ḥayawán* [6]).

An account of the author of this work.

This is one of those works utilised by al-ʿAwfí in the *Jawámiʿ* on subjects connected with natural history and is now apparently lost. Very little is known about its real contents or its author, Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir al-Marwazí, beyond a few incidental references and dates, placing him in Marw and connecting him with the Sultan Malikshāh Saljúqí who reigned between 465–85 A. H. = 1072–92 A. D.. His long connection with Marw, most probably his native town, as his *nisba* also indicates, is apparent from the fact that four out of seven citations are local incidents, in two of which dates are also mentioned; once in 448 A. H. = 1056/7 A. D. he witnessed a feat of a Bedouin and in 478 A. H. = 1085/6 A. D. he treated, also in Marw, an elephant of Malikshāh. And again his attachment to the court of Malikshāh, probably as a physician, can also be inferred from the request and reward of the Sultan to him for having explained the cause of sexlessness and abnormalities in both sexes.

Borrowed anecdotes

The following are the anecdotes in which either a reference to the author occurs or the *Ṭabáʾiʿu'l-Ḥayawán* of Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir al-Marwazí is mentioned as the source.

(1) Abnormal features in a girl and duality of sex, as related by the author in his book, (**D.** f 59*b*. IV. xiv. **1936**).

(2) A deformed but skilful woman seen by the author in Marw, (**D.** f 60*a*. IV. xiv. **1939**).

(3) The author's explanation of sexlessness at the request of Malikshāh, (**D.** f 61*a*. IV. xiv. **1944**).

(4) A Bedouin seen in Marw by the author in 448 A. H. who overtook horsemen by his characteristic swift-footedness and recovered his clothes with which they wanted to run away, (**D.** f 69*a*. IV. xvii. **1969**).

(5) The great age of an elephant and some observations, (**D.** f 80*b*. IV. xxi. **2009**).

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1) See Leyden Cat. Vol. V, pp. 209–23.

2) See for all references, *Chronographia Islamica* by Leone Caetani, fasc. I, p. 90.

3) Sir T. W. Arnold has kindly communicated with the present writer about him.

4) *H. S. R.* Vol. I, pp. 351, 361, 900.

5) *Loc. cit.*

6) D. ff 59*b*–60*a*: «شرف الزمان طاهر [مروزی] در کتاب طبایع حیوان خود آورده است». From this it appears that this work was an epitome of an earlier work; and from the citations, that it contained a systematic account of animal life, and that other personal observations and methods of treatment were also incorporated by the author, since he practised the art of medicine. Cf. Flügel, Vienna Cat., Band III, p. 451, fragment No. 19.

(6) The story of a spiteful elephant that killed the son of a certain Muḥammad Filawí in Marw during the reign of Malikshāh I, (D. f 81 *b*. IV. xxi. **2010**).
(7) How the author temporarily stopped the bleeding of a wound in the breast of an elephant of Malikshāh I in Marw in 478 A.H., (D. f 81 *b*. IV. xxi. **2012**).

(30). The *Kitábu'l-Ghurar wa's-Siyar*.

Correct authorship of the *Ghurar*.

This lately discovered work of Abú Manṣúr ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismaʿíl ath-Thaʿálibí[1]) (b. 350 d. 429 A. H. = 961–1038 A. D.), fully designated as the *Ghuraru Akhbári-Mulúki'l-Fursi wa Siyari-him*, forms one of the acknowledged [2]) sources of the *Jawámiʿ* for the chapter "On the Ancient Kings of Persia" (Pt. I, ch. iv. Anecs. **119–193**). Before 1900 A. D. it was believed that this work was written by another ath-Thaʿálibí named Abú Manṣúr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marʿaní or Marʿashí. Probably this mistake arose from the title-page of the Constantinople Ms, and was perpetuated by H. Khalfa[3]) who ascribes it to the aforesaid Marʿashí and quotes the beginning line. Prior to him, even Ibn Khallikán was not aware of the existence of this work as that of the famous philologist ath-Thaʿálibí, since he has omitted it from the list of his works and has praised his more famous anthology the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr* only. It escaped the notice of Prof. Th. Nöldeke in his masterly works '*Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*' and '*Das iranische Nationalepos*'. It was Hermann Zotenberg[4]) who, for the first time, after examining the available material, established conclusively the claim of the great philologist as a historian also.

An account of the work based on Zotenberg's Préface.

Unfortunately, only a quarter of the great history of ath-Thaʿálibí has come down to us, and much more interesting and contemporary material is lost, as we can judge from the original *Preface* of ath-Thaʿálibí (pp. xlvii–l), setting forth the grand scheme of the work. It was written, as shown by Zotenberg in his excellent Préface, probably between 408 and 412 A. H. = 1017–21 A. D. and is dedicated to the Prince Abu'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Náṣiru'd-Dín Abú Manṣúr [Sabuktigín], the brother of the great Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna. The importance of this source of information about the ancient kings of Persia and their early legends is well established when we consider the period of the composition of the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí, as both these works were written under the patronage of the Ghaznawids, and from almost the same available sources, and even under identical circumstances, — the difference being, that one is the highest expression of the epic in Persian, while the other is a systematic history in classical Arabic prose. All the resemblances to and divergences from the versions adopted by aṭ-Ṭabarí and put into verse by Firdawsí are analysed by

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1) See for his life, *Ibn Khal.*, (Wust) Biog. No. 391, pp. 91–2; and for his works, Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 284–6; II, p. 697, *ll.* 1–4; cf. I, p. 342
2) See above, Notice No. (13), pp. 52, 54.
3) *H. Khal.*, Vol. IV, p. 319, No. 8592.
4) See for a critical study of this work, his Préface to *His. des Rois des Perses*; and Prof. Browne's review in JRAS. (1901) pp. 161–4.

Zotenberg in his Préface (pp. xxv–xli) which extends our knowledge about the sources of the *Sháhnáma* beyond the researches of Prof. Th. Nöldeke.

al-ʿAwfí's adaptation of the *Ghurar*.

As regards the method of utilisation adopted by al-ʿAwfí, it can be asserted on the basis of a textual comparison [1]) that either al-ʿAwfí has himself abridged the *Ghurar* in order to provide material for his anecdotes or has used its Persian Translation 5 called the *Ra'y-Áráy*, discussed above in Notice No. (22). Although he has omitted in this chapter the parallel accounts, detached pieces and episodes given by ath-Thaʿálibí regarding the king-prophets like Yúsuf, Dá'úd and Sulaymán and others, the accounts of the Pharaohs, the rulers of Yaman and Syria, and the wise and pithy sayings of the Persian kings attached to almost every biographical account, and the different 10 versions cited by ath-Thaʿálibí, yet the order, the division of the longer accounts, the main course of the narrative, the exact literal rendering of certain expressions throughout the anecdotes, and the consistent fidelity with which he reproduces the original version of these traditions in a very abridged form, definitely indicate that al-ʿAwfí has entirely based this chapter on the *Ghurar*, though occasionally he has referred to either aṭ-Ṭabarí or 15 Firdawsí or some other source. The following analysis will perhaps illustrate his method precisely: In the very first account of Kayúmarth, ath-Thaʿálibí (*Gh.* pp. 1–4) quotes aṭ-Ṭabarí and gives various opinions as to whether Adam and Kayúmarth were the same person, and an episode as to who were the kings amongst the prophets; al-ʿAwfí omits all these details and gives in brief the story of Kayúmarth (**A.** f 47*a*. I. iv. **119**); and then in the 20 account of Húshang (**A.** f 47*a*. I. iv. **120**) he omits the Arabic verses of Manṣúr al-Faqíh cited by ath-Thaʿálibí and introduces a Persian couplet, the origin of which is uncertain; and further on in the account of Farídún (**A.** f 49*a*. I. iv. **129**) he omits the wise sayings recorded by ath-Thaʿálibí; al-ʿAwfí usually compresses lengthy accounts, *e.g.* the legend of Rustam and Isfandiyár, which covers in the *Ghurar* about 40 pages (338–78), is 25 abridged in the *Jawámiʿ* to two folios (**A.** ff 62*a*–64*a*. I. iv. **145**); and very rarely he brings in a different version of the story, *e.g.* the account of Manes (**A.** f 70*a*. I. iv. **163**), or enlarges an anecdote, *e.g.* Fíruz b. Yazdijird's struggle against Khushunwár (*Gh.* pp. 579–83), cf. (**A.** f 73*b*. I. iv. **178**). At the end of this chapter there are two anecdotes — one is a sketchy account of the kings of Rúm or Byzantium (**A.** f 81*b*. I. iv. **194**), and 30 the other about Heraclius' persistence in opening the locked chamber (**A.** f 81*b*. I. iv. **195**) — which are not traceable in the *Ghurar*, and are probably drawn from the lost portion of the book or some other source. Thus, in short, this chapter is an epitomised Persian translation of the *Ghurar*.

(31). The *Kitábu'l-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanúkhí.

The career and work of al-Muḥassin at-Tanúkhí.

This Arabic original of the Qádhí Abú ʿAlí al-Muḥassin [2]) b. Abi'l-Qásim ʿAlí b. 35 Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Fahm Dá'úd b. Ibráhím b. Tamím at-Tanúkhí, who was born

[1]) See *Table of Contents*, Pt. I, ch. iv, for all parallel references.

[2]) See for his life *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* pt. II, pp. 115–6; *Y. I. A.* vol. VI, pp. 251–67; *Ibn Khal* (Wüst.) Biog. No. 567, pp. 82–5; *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, preface by Prof. Margoliouth pp. v–viii; and for all references concerning "Die *Farağ baʿd aš-Šidda*-Literature", Alfred Wiener in *Der Islam* (1913) Band IV, Heft 3, 4, pp. 270–98, 387–420. The present writer is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. C. A. Storey

in Baṣra in 327 or 329 A. H. = 938 or 940 A. D. and died in Baghdad in 384 A. H. = 994 A. D., is one of the acknowledged [1]) sources of al-ʿAwfí, which has somewhat increased the value of the *Jawámiʿ* in the field of historical anecdotes and considerably in bulk. al-Muḥassin at-Tanúkhí, a Mesopotamian judge, a poet, a Muʿtazilite traditionist, and an eminent prose-writer, was one of the distinguished members of his family, in which learning was cultivated assiduously, literature flourished, and the greatest historical movements found an echo. Like his father, ʿAlí, he was occasionally employed on political missions, held various offices, chiefly as a Qádhí, had travelled through the lands of the Caliphate, had associated intimately with the most eminent men of his times, and had obtained an exceptional insight into the various aspects of life. As a judge, he was fully aware of the social circumstances in which enmity, jealousy, disgrace, imprisonment and flight took their origin. As a literary man, he had read largely in Tradition, history and other branches of literature both in Arabic and Persian, and had obtained the *Ijáza* of the *Kitábu'l-Aghání* of Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahání and possessed a very retentive memory. And as a student of current politics, he had studied history, and in many cases taken part in contemporary events; but he has not given us the result of his experiences in the form of a systematic chronicle. Therefore, his literary achievements entitle him to be ranked only as one of the most talented gatherers of historical anecdotes. His works throw sufficient light upon the internal history of the declining period of the ʿAbbásid Caliphate and afford us, in parts, details which cannot be had anywhere else in such a graphic form: even Miskawayh and Hilál b. Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣábí are indebted to him in certain respects. And, in fact, as Prof. Margoliouth [2]) remarks, the *Nishwáru'l-Muḥádhara* or his "*Table-talk*, of which only one volume out of eleven has been discovered, is a mine of information about the customs of the time and the conduct of his contemporaries." And again the Professor adds in his preface to the English translation of his *Nishwár*: "It was his purpose to record interesting facts which had come to his knowledge by personal experience or by hearsay; in general he avoided matter which had already appeared in books. He admits that there are exceptions to this rule to be found in his work, and indeed several of the stories already published in the *Deliverance after Stress* [3]) are repeated here" [4]).

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for the latter and several other references. The detailed researches of Herr A. Wiener are incorporated in this Notice advantageously, and to him also the present writer owes a deep debt of gratitude.

[1]) See above, p. 15, *ll.* 23–5.

[2]) *Eclipse* (Index Vol. VII) preface, p. viii; and *Table-Talk* preface, p. v.

[3]) *T. F. S.* stand for the *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* (Cairo edition 1903, 1904).

[4]) Prof. Margoliouth has given parallel references of these recurring anecdotes, which, on a closer study, show the relation of the *Nishwár* to the *Faraj*: *T. F. S.* Pt II, p. 17 = *Nishwár* (Arabic Text) pp. 123–4; *T. F. S.* II, pp. 17–9 = pp. 150–4; *T. F. S.* I, pp. 153–4 = pp. 220–3; *T. F. S.* I, pp. 172–3 = pp. 225–6; *T. F. S.* I, pp. 174–6 = pp. 238–40; in the *Faraj* 373 A. H. is given as a past year, whereas in the *Nishwár* this anecdote is shortened and the date is omitted, from which it appears that the *Nishwár* was completed later than the *Faraj*. According to his own authority (Arabic Text p. 7), the *Nishwár* was begun in 360 A. H., and it is said to have been written during twenty years. Various events and dates in the *Faraj* indicate that its period of composition includes the years 358–68 and 373 A. H (*T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 132; 176), so that part of the *Nishwár* appears to have been written simultaneously; meanwhile these anecdotes were incorporated from one into another as the author chose. *T. F. S.* II, pp. 94–5 = *Nishwár* pp. 246–8, where at the end an episode (p. 248, *ll.* 8–18) is added, which does not form part of this story and is missing in the *Faraj* also.

The sources of the *Faraj.* The *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, a less original work than its successor the *Nishwár*, which also differs from it essentially in its object [1]), design [2]), sources [3]) and subject-matter, forms one of the most important contributions to the *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*-Literature. It is a collection of anecdotes of sensational character depicting "Relief after Distress", containing 14 chapters of different headings bearing loosely on the central theme and illustrating thrilling human experiences. It is partly based on the earlier collections of the same title, *viz.*, by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Madá'iní (d. 225 A.H. = 839/40 A.D.), by Abú Bakr 'Abdu'llah b. Muḥammad Ibn Abi'd-Dunyá (d. 281 A.H. = 894/5 A.D.) and by the Qáḏhí Abu'l-Ḥusayn 'Umar b. Abí 'Amr Muḥammad b. Yúsuf (d. 328 A.H. = 939/40 A.D.). It is partly borrowed from several Histories of the Wazírs, like the *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'* of Abú 'Abdi'llah Muḥammad b. 'Abdús al-Jahshiyárí [4]) (d. 331 A.H. = 942/3 A.D.) that of Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá aṣ-Ṣúlí [5]) (d. 335 A.H. = 946/7 A.D.) and that of Abú 'Abdi'llah Muḥammad b. Dá'úd b. al-Jarráḥ [6]) (executed 296 A.H. = 908/9 A.D.), the Wazír of the Caliph 'Abdullah Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz, and the *Manáqibu'l-Wuzará'* of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. al-Fatḥ al-Muṭawwaq al-Kátib [7]) (who survived the Caliphate of al-Qáhir bi'llah 320–2 A.H. = 932–4 A.D.) and from several other sources [8]) which are recorded in the admirable article of Herr Alfred Wiener in *Der Islam*. Other accounts in the *Faraj* are either indirectly taken from the author's predecessors or directly from his teachers and other eminent contemporaries like the famous historian Abú Bakr aṣ-Ṣúlí from whom he obtained the *Ijáza* of his *Kitábu'l-Wuzará'* [9]) and of the *Kitábu'l-Awráq* [10]) also, Abu'l-'Abbás Muḥammad [11]) b. Aḥmad b. Ḥammád al-Athram al-Muqrí al-Khayyáṭ al-Baghdádí (d. 336 A.H. = 947/8 A.D.), his father Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí [12]) b. Muḥammad b. Abil-Fahm Dá'úd at-Tanúkhí (d. 342 A.H. = 953 A.D.), his preceptor Abu'l-Faraj 'Alí [13]) b. Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahání, the famous author of the *Kitábu'l-Aghání'l-Kabír* (d. 356 A.H. = 967 A.D.) from whom he obtained the *Ijáza* of this book [14]), Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad [15]) b. Yúsuf al-Azraq al-Kátib b. Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq b. al-Buhlúl at-Tanúkhí (alive in 361 A.H. = 971/2 A.D.) and Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdu'l-Waḥid [16]) b. Naṣr al-Makhzúmí al-Ḥinṭí known as al-Babbaghá' (d. 398 A.H. = 1007/8 A.D.).

The nature of the *Faraj.* The nature and subject-matter of the anecdotes in the *Faraj* varies according to the sources and authorities referred to in the book. In the earlier part, it is full of

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1) See al-Muḥassin's own preface to the *Faraj* (*T. F. S.* pp. 5–7), also Leyden Cat. Vol. I, pp. 212-6.

2) Compare the list of chapters at the end (*T. F. S.* p. 220) with that of the *Nishwár* (Preface).

3) al-Muḥassin acknowledges the earlier *Farajs* in his preface and frequently quotes them in the anecdotes; but he claims to have made great improvements upon his older models. For other particulars see *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*).

4) See *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) p. 403 for the references of the citations from this work in the *Faraj*.

5) *Ibid.* pp. 403–4. 6) *Ibid.* p. 404. 7) *Ibid.* p. 404. 8) *Ibid.* pp. 404–7.

9) *T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 40, 66, 84, (orally from aṣ-Ṣúlí, Pt. I, pp. 44, 72, 89, 91, 147, 158, Pt. II, p. 4).

10) *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) p. 405; a passage cited from this work is found in the Ms. of the *Faraj* in Berlin, [Cat. No. 8738] f 106*b*; see also above, Notice No. (12).

11) *T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 88, 132; cf. *Ansáb* (facs.) p. 19*a*.

12) *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) pp. 388–91, for his life and other particulars.

13) *Ibid.* p. 405, *nn.* 6 and 7. 14) *T. F. S.* Pt. II, p. 177.

15) *T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 107, 132, *passim.* cf. *Eclipse* (Index Vol. VII) p. 10, for references to the oral traditions reported from him in the *Nishwár*, (on p. 275, 361 A.H. as the year in which the conversation took place). 16) *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) p. 406.

quotations from the *Qur'án*, and other traditional forms of prayers used for "*Faraj*", which are mostly borrowed from the earlier *Farajs*. In the middle, various important details about the declining period of the Caliphate, and about the sudden changes in the office of the *Wizárat* are reported on the personal authority of the various secretaries who were in direct touch with the political affairs of the time. In handing 5 down these anecdotes al-Muḥassin took every opportunity of gaining his material from every source. Now his authorities are Shi'a and 'Alid, now Christian, now an inhabitant of Ahwáz and now a trader from Baghdád; and wherever possible he imparted an extraordinary personal colour to these accounts. At the end of the book, ludicrous and strange incidents are told, which are a curious combination of grim 10 realities and uncanny horrors (such as are found in the *Tales* of Edgar Allan Poe) with accidental escapes and quasi-miraculous rescues and a juxtaposition of "Whirlpools" and "Safety-zones", failures and successes and misadventures and bold risks in various perilous undertakings. The scenes of most of these stories are laid in Baghdád, Kufa, Baṣra, Ahwáz and other social centres. The state of society as revealed in some of 15 these anecdotes is rather perplexing. There existed side by side benevolent despotism and severest tyranny; patronage of talents, whimsical emoluments and shameful bribes and decay of genius, swift dismissals and painful extortions; and the greatest possible fear of and trust in God together with outrageous crimes and villanies.

Utilisation of the *Faraj* by al-'Awfí.

As regards the utilisation of the *Faraj* by al-'Awfí, nearly three-fourths of the 20 work have been freely incorporated in one chapter or another of the *Jawámi'* [1]. As remarked previously [2], al-'Awfí had prepared a Persian translation of the *Faraj*, and from that very translation he has actually copied [3] these anecdotes and arranged them arbitrarily [4] under different headings [5], often regardless of the design of at-Tanúkhí. At times anecdotes from one single chapter of the *Faraj* are scattered over 25 different chapters of the *Jawámi'*, and at others, a few chapters are retained *in extenso*; *e.g.* the first thirteen chapter-headings in Pt. IV of the *Jawámi* are directly taken

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1) Numerous anecdotes are found in the following chapters: Pt. I, chs. vi, xi, xviii, xx xxi, xxiii, xxv; Pt. II, chs. iii, iv, vi, ix, x, xiii, xiv, xvi, xviii. xx, xxii, xxiii; Pt. III, chs. v, vii, xv, xxi; Pt. IV, chs. iii–xiii, out of which chs. vi–xi are entirely based on the *Faraj*. Parallel references, wherever traced, are given in the *Table of Contents*.

2) See above, pp. 15, *ll.* 15–25.

3) *E.g.* The anecdote of al-Aṣma'í's poverty in the days of his early education, the Grocer's taunt, and al-Aṣma'í's appointment as tutor to the Caliph's son al-Amín. ((*T. F. S.* Pt. II, ch. vii, pp. 19–21 = [Ind. Off. 1432] ff 11*b*–13*b* = (D. f 122*a*. II. vi. 1304).)).

4) *E.g.* The anecdote of the pathetic appeal of Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, a poet of the tribe of Hawázin, to the Prophet for amnesty, and his ode in praise of the Prophet. In *T. F. S.* Pt. I, ch. v, p. 88 it occurs under the heading, "On Deliverance from Imprisonment" *etc.*, whereas in the *Jawámi'* (A. f 240*a*. I. xxiii. 1109) it is inserted in the chapter "On Poets" *etc.* On the other hand, the anecdote of the Shi'a Poet, Di'bil of Khuzá'a, (*T. F. S.* Pt. II, ch. xi, pp. 104–6) is retained in the *Jawámi'* (D. f 25*b*. IV. viii. 1860) in the chapter "On Deliverance from Brigands" *etc.*

5) *E.g.* The account of the arrest of the three magnates Muḥammad b. Dá'úd b. al-Jarráḥ, the Qádhí Abu'l-Muthanná and the Qádhí Abú 'Umar, the brutal assassination of the first two, and the intercession of the Wazír Ibnu'l-Furát on behalf of Abú 'Umar who survived the shock, though his hair turned grey on account of fear. In *T. F. S.* Pt. I, ch. v, pp. 120–2 it is related in the chapter "On Deliverance from Imprisonment" *etc.*, whereas in the *Jawámi'* (D. f 10*b*. IV. iii. 1813), though the original is closely followed, it is given in the chapter "On Fear and Hope".

from those of the *Faraj*, and in some of these, anecdotes after anecdotes follow in the same order. In these borrowed anecdotes, the authorities and verses cited by at-Tanúkhí are often omitted, and a few details are suppressed; but the translation is uniform, accurate and simple.

(32). *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* (Persian Translation by al-ʿAwfí).

An account of the merits and contents of al-ʿAwfí's version.

An account of the composition and transcription of this work, and its priority to Ḥusayn's translation has been given in detail in the preceding pages (14–19); here a few points about its merits, contents and relation to the original of at-Tanúkhí will be outlined. It appears, firstly, that al-ʿAwfí used a much fuller text of the *Faraj* than is represented in the Cairo edition, as there are a number of genuine anecdotes in this translation which are missing in the latter; secondly, that he originally intended to divide his own version into two *Daftars* or parts, and to follow the original order of the chapters and anecdotes as closely as possible. Unfortunately both the extant Mss. [1]) which represent this translation are in a very defective condition, as they are marred by lacunae, transposition of folios, wrong numeration of chapters and disarrangement of anecdotes. Moreover the text is very corrupt, authorities of narratives are omitted, proper names are mutilated and citations from Arabic prose and poetry are often wrongly transcribed. The ignorance of the copyist is to a great extent responsible for some of these glaring errors. On comparison of one of the Mss. which is said to be the second half of al-ʿAwfí's translation [Ind. Off. 1432] with the original text of the *Faraj* [2]), it is found to contain over three-fourths of the work — the first three chapters and the last one are entirely lacking, apart from the gaps in the middle; thus owing to transpositions or the defective arrangement of the original copy, a fairly large portion of the first part of the *Faraj* is also included in this Ms.. The contents of both the Mss. enable us to judge accurately the relative merits of al-ʿAwfí's and Ḥusayn's versions. Each has an advantage over the other, *i.e.* the classification of chapters and the division of anecdotes in Ḥusayn's version is very precise and useful; whereas in al-ʿAwfí's version it is very difficult to follow the order of the chapters or of the anecdotes. But al-ʿAwfí's version has one great merit in its favour, that it presents in its essential features an accurate, simple, pure and slightly abridged translation; whereas in Ḥusayn's version, prolixity, modification of the text, omissions, and insertions of his own poetical pieces in Arabic and Persian have in great measure effaced the merit of an unadulterated and faithful translation.

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1) Ethé, Cat. Pers. Mss. Ind. Office, coll. 504–5. Nos. 737 and 738.

2) The following is a list of the contents of al-ʿAwfí's Translation [Ind. Off. 1432] which roughly corresponds with the original of at-Tanúkhí's (*T. F. S.*):
f 11*b*–f 61*b* = Pt. II, ch. vii. pp. 19–40; f 64*a*–f 101*a* = Pt. II, ch. viii. pp. 44–72; f 101*b*–f 126*a* = Pt. II, ch. ix. pp. 73–94; f 126*a*–f 135*a* = Pt. II, ch. x. pp. 94–104; f 135*a*–f 149*a* = Pt. II, ch. xi. pp. 104–118; f 149*b*–f 174*a* = Pt. II, ch. xii, pp. 118–148; f 174*a*–f 240*b* = Pt. II, ch. xiii. pp. 148–188; f 242*a*–f 256*a* = Pt. I, ch. iii, pp. 57–65; f 256*a*–f 285*a* = Pt. I, ch. iv, pp. 66–88; f 285*a*–f 352*b* = Pt. I, ch. v. pp. 88–147; 352*b*–f 392*b* = Pt. I, ch. vi. pp. 147–188; f 392*b*–f 415*a* = Pt. II, ch. vii. pp. 2–17.

(33). The *Qábús náma* [1]).

Relation of the Qábús-náma to the Jawámi'.

This book of moral precepts and rules of conduct written by Unṣuru'l-Ma'álí Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús b. Washmgír for his son Gílánshah in 475 A. H. = 1082/3 A. D. is vaguely [2]) mentioned by al-'Awfí in one anecdote concerning the deposition of Qábús [3]) b. Washmgír, the Ziyárid [4]) ruler of Ṭabaristán, who was put to death in 403 A. H. = 1012 A. D.. However, besides this, there are seven anecdotes which are common to the *Qábús-náma* and the *Jawámi'*, some of which are found to agree very closely on textual comparison, whence we can infer that al-'Awfí utilised this work also. In the *Lubáb* [5]) he has not mentioned the *Qábús-náma* at all; but he has referred to the famous compositions of Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús, the grandfather of Kay-Ká'ús, in prose and verse, collected by the Imám Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Yazdádí, known as the [*Qará'in-i-Shamsu'l-Ma'álí wa*] *Kamálu'l-Balágha* [6]), extracts from which are preserved in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Ṭabaristán* [7]) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan known as Ibn Isfandiyár.

Common and parallel anecdotes.

The following are the anecdotes common to the *Qábús-náma* and the *Jawámi'*, the purport of which is given according to the version of the latter, while a few points of divergence and similarity are also briefly noticed:

(1) Brutal rejoinder of one of the notables of Bukhárá to a poor fellow-pilgrim who had the audacity to challenge the comparative reward for their pilgrimage. (**A.** f 203*b*. I. xvi. 850) = *U. Q. N.* ch. iv, pp. 20–1, where the story is in a fuller form and differs in a few minute details.

(2) The Sultan Maḥmúd's threat to the Caliph (al-Qádir bi'llah who ruled 381–422 A. H. = 991–1031 A. D.) that he would attack him with elephants, and the latter's pithy but enigmatic reply by the letters الم alluding to the verse in the *Qur'án* (cv. 1) concerning the fate of Abrahatu'l-Ashram, which was correctly interpreted [8]) by Abú Bakr ['Alí b. al-Ḥasan al-] Quhistání only. (**A.** f 218*b*. I. xviii. 996) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xxxix, pp. 185–7, where the story is given in detail and does not correspond verbally with the *Jawámi'*. In the latter work it is told in connection with other attempts of the Sultan to extract titles from the Caliph, whose name is not mentioned. (See above, p. 83).

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1) Ethé in *G. I. P.* II, p. 347; Prof. Browne's analysis of this work in *Lit. Hist. Persia* Vol. I, pp. 276–87; *U. Q. N.* stand for Ṭihrán litho. 1285 A. H.

2) (C. f 233*b* = D. f 150*a*. II. xv. 1423): «آورده اند که [عنصرالمعالی کیکاوس بن اسکندر بن]⁽ᵃ⁾ شمس‌المعالی قابوس [بن]⁽ᵇ⁾ وشمگیر در اثنای پندها که پسررا میداد گفت،

(*a–b*) Added; not given in any Ms.

3) See for a sketch of his life M. Cl. Huart's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. II, p. 596.

4) See *Reclassification of the Contents* for other anecdotes of the Ziyárids in the *Jawámi'*.

5) Pt. I, p. 31, cf. also, p. 297.

6) *Chahar Maqála*, p. 95.

7) [Add. 7633 Br. Mus.] f 81*a*–f 84*a* ‹و امام ابو الحسن علیّ بن محمّد الیزدادی جمع ساخته است از الفاظ او و آنرا قرائن شمس‌المعالی و کمال البلاغه⁽ᵃ⁾ نام نهاده و درو اند رسالتست فلسفی و نحوی و اخوانیات و بشایر و فتوح و وقایع، بآخر آن جمع بمدح و مناقب او اوراق بیاض سواد گردانیده، سخن یزدادی: و انا اقول بلسان مطلق انّ احدا لم یسمع کلاما مولّفا باللّغة العربیّة مثل رسائل قابوس فی الفصاحة و الوجازة ....الخ» (f 81*b*)

a) Prof. Margoliouth informs me that these *Rasá'il* have been printed at Baghdád.

8) Probably owing to the coincidence of the name of the elephant of Abraha with that of Maḥmúd (see *H. S. R.* p. 35, *l.* 12; and for a biography of Abú Bakr Qúhistání, *Y. I. A.* Vol. V, pp. 116–21).

(3) Plato's grief at being praised by a fool. (**A.** f 249*b*. I. xxv. **1155**) = *U. Q. N.* ch. vi, pp. 34–5.

(4) Muḥammad [b.] Zakariyyá ar-Rází the physician's alarm at being laughed at by a madman, and his endeavour to rid himself of any symptom of madness which the madman may have found in common with his own. (**A.** f 249*b*. I. xxv. **1156**) = *U. Q. N.* ch. vi, p. 35. These two stories resemble each other very much and in the latter the proverb in Arabic is also quoted.

(5) The fate of the two interpreters of the Caliph Harún's dream, one of whom is flogged for giving a plain and unvarnished interpretation, whereas the other is rewarded for his euphemistic reply. (**D.** f 123*b*. II. vi. **1314**) = *U. Q. N.* ch. vii, p. 42.

(6) The deposition and imprisonment of Shamsu'l-Maʿálí Qábús b. Washmgír attributed by him rather to his own negligence in not murdering his enemies than to his tyranny, as remarked by one of his custodians Abú ʿAbdi'llah [Jammáz]. (**D.** f 150*a*. II. xv. **1423**) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xx, pp. 87–8. The texts agree very closely, cf. *D. T. S.* pp. 48–9; also *History of Ṭabaristán* p. 232.

(7) The shepherd who advised his dishonest master to sell pure milk, and his witty reply when retribution overtook the latter and the flock was swept away by flood. (**D.** f 251*a*. III. xvi. **1703**) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xxxii, p. 154.

(8) Sayyida the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla's bold reply to the Sultan Maḥmúd, whereby she prevented Maḥmúd from attacking her capital, Ray. (**D.** f 274*a*. III. xxii. **1745**) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xxix, pp. 128–9, cf. *D. T S.* pp. 43–4.

The text of anecdotes No. (6) and No. (8), which are typical of the *Qabús-náma*, is closely followed by al-ʿAwfí, but the personal references of the author are omitted, and the original classification of other anecdotes is also ignored.

(34). The *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* [1]).

al-Jáḥiẓ's position as a natural-philosopher.

Among the various works utilised by al-ʿAwfí for the compilation of anecdotes in his chapters on natural history (Pt. IV, chs. xxi–xxiv), the above work of Abú ʿUthmán ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jáḥiẓ [2]), the famous prose-writer and natural philosopher and the founder of the Jáḥiẓiyya sect, who was born in 150 A. H. = 767 A. D. and died in 255 A. H. = 869 A. D., is mentioned five times in one connection or another in the *Jawámiʿ*. Before proceeding to discuss the actual merit of the citations from the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán*, the following observation, regarding al-Jáḥiẓ's position as a scientist, seems appropriate here: "Primarily, our author was a religious thinker belonging to the rationalistic sect of Islám, the Muʿtazila. His works on natural history are closely

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[1]) al-ʿAwfí always mentions it as the *Ṭabáʾiʿu'l-Ḥayawán*, and to avoid confusion with the work of Marwazí, noticed above No. (29), he gives the name of al-Jáḥiẓ along with it. See for other works of the same title and subject-matter, *H. Khal.*, (Vol. III, pp. 121–2, No. 4662); references are given to the Cairo text printed in 1325 A. H. (= *J. K. H.*).

[2]) See for his life and works etc., *Y. I. A.* Vol. VI, pp. 56–80; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 152–3; *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 1000–1001; and the unpublished dissertation of Dr. M. Badhlu'r-Raḥmán in the University Library, Cambridge, from which the following quotation is taken.

connected with theology by his attempt to show the unity of nature and the equal value to the observer of its constituent parts. To conclude, Jaḥiẓ besides representing the stand-point of the educated man of the time was a link between the philosophers proper and those theologians who had to combat with foreign ideas."

Identification of the *Kitáb Tafḍhíl'l-Kalbi* etc.

An illustration of this fact can indirectly be noticed from one of the citations in the *Jawámi'*. al-ʿAwfí mentions a treatise of al-Jaḥiẓ which is hitherto not known to exist separately. It is designated the *Kitáb Tafḍhíli'l-Kalbi 'ala's-Siflati mina'n-Nás*[1], which the present writer regards as a first instalment of the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán*, as it appears to be no other than the "Controversy of the Dogs and the Cocks", representing two schools of thought amongst the Mutakallimún of his day. Parts I and II of the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* are entirely devoted to this diatribe, which al-Jáḥiẓ aims at certain theologians whose names he carefully omits; and under this allegorical treatment of the subject and veiled attack, he describes the virtues of a dog and its utility to mankind. al-ʿAwfí, not being concerned with the controversy, has selected only that small portion dealing with the varieties of the best hunting dogs, (**D.** f 88*b*. IV. xxii. **2048** = *J. K. H.* Pt. I, p. 105; Pt. II, pp. 15–6) which is most appropriate from the natural history point of view.

Citations from the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* in the *Jawámi'*

Citations with acknowledgement directly traceable to the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* are:

(1) A few particulars about the elephant, which al-Jáḥiẓ quotes from the observations of the Indian philosophers (**D.** f 80*b*. IV. xxi. **2009**) = *J. K. H.* Pt. VII, pp. 29, 31, 32, 33.

(2) Another observation of al-Jáḥiẓ on the greediness of pigs. (**D.** f 88*b*. IV. xxii. **2047**) = *J. K. H.* Pt. IV, p. 17.

(3) Argument against the theory of "*Khalq-i-Murakkab*" (hybrid) as applied to the giraffe. (**D.** f 91*b*. IV. xxiii. **2059**) = *J. K. H.* Pt. I, p. 65; VII, p 76.

Other unidentified citations either with the name of al-Jáḥiẓ or his *Tabá'i u'l-Ḥayawán* are as follows:

(1) Opinion of al-Jáḥiẓ about the influence of wine on different temperaments, (**D.** f 193*b*. III. i. **1541**).

(2) Anecdote related by al-Jáḥiẓ about a stammerer, ʿAbdu'llah ʿAmí (?) who grew eloquent after taking plenty of wine at a party given by the sons of Abdu'l-Malik Riyáshí (?), (**D.** f 194*a*. III. i. **1542**).

(3) al-Jáḥiẓ's incredible story of the animals trained by Aswad b. Iyáḏh al-Jabalí (?) for hunting, (**D.** f 86*b*. IV. xxii. **2037**).

(4) al-Jáḥiẓ on the scarcity of the rhinoceros, (**D.** f 91*a*. IV. xxiii. **2056**).

References to other authors in connection with the anecdotes on natural history.

The following are the anecdotes in which vague references either to the ancient authors or to their works occur:

(1) Sinán[2]) b. Ṯhábit al-Ḥarrání the famous physician's observation on a deformed woman, (**D.** f 60*a*. IV. xiv. **1938**).

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[1]) **D.** f 88*b*. = **M.** 239*b*. IV. xxii. 2048: «فی ذکر الکلب، عمرو بن [بحر] جاحظ کتابی ساخته است و آنرا تفصیل الکلب علی السفلة من الناس نام نهاده است و آن کتاب بر حکایات فاسدان و بیوفائی آدمیان بدگهر [است]»

[2]) *Fihrist*, pp. 272, 302; *Ta'ríkhu'l-Ḥukamá'* of Ibnu'l-Qiftí ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, (= *Q. T. H.*) pp. 190–5; '*Uyúnu'l-Anbá' fi Ṭabaqáti'l-Aṭibbá'* of Ibn Abí Uṣaybiʿa printed at Cairo 1882, with introduction etc. by A. Müller, Konigsberg, 1884, (= *U. T. A.*) Pt. I, pp. 220–4.

(2) ʿUbaydu'llah [1]) [b. Bukht-Yishúʿ b.] Jibrá'íl's similar observation in his book about a deformed man whom he had seen in Hurmuza (?). (**D.** f 60*b*. IV. xiv. **1941**).
(3) Hippocrates' [2]) explanation of abnormities, (**D.** f 60*b*. IV. xiv. **1943**).
(4) Dioscorides [3]) on the medicinal value of the parts of an antelope, (**D.** f 83*b*. IV. xxi. **2023**). 5
(5) Ptolemy's [4]) account of a famous breed of war-horses, (**D.** f 84*a*. IV. xxi. **2025**).
(6) Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírúní's] account of strange animals presented to the Sámánids in 339 or 337 A. H., (**D.** f 84*b*. IV. xxi. **2027**), (**D.** f 89*b*. IV. xxii. **2050**).
(7) Dioscorides and Ibn Mása [5]) on the medicinal properties of the various parts of an ass, (**D.** f 85*b*. IV. xxi. **2033**). 10
(8) A *Kitáb-i-Sumúm* (?) cited regarding the fat of a leopard as a cure for paralysis, (**D.** f 86*b*. IV. xxii. **2040**).
(9) Aristotle's book [6]) cited: as to how a fox keeps a wolf away from its lair by means of wild onion, (**D.** f 89*a*. IV. xxii. **2050**).
(10) Galen [7]) arranges a fight between a weasel and a serpent and cures the weasel by an antidote, (**D.** f 90*b*. IV. xxiii. **2054**).
(11) Rufus [8]) of Ephesus witnesses a fight between a weasel and a serpent and discovers *Ḥabbu'l-Fár* as an antidote, (**D.** f 91*a*. IV. xxiii. **2055**). 15
(12) Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírúní's] description of the animal Shérú of the rhinoceros type, (**D.** f 91*b*. IV. xxiii. **2057**). See above, Notice No. **(1)b**.
(13) Aristotle's description of a strange animal [9]), (**D.** f 92*a*. IV. xxiii. **2060**).
(14) A Greek author's [10]) description of a curious animal [11]) with a tail like a peacock's. (**D.** f 92*b*. IV. xxiii. **2064**). 20
(15) A Greek musician [12]) who devised a musical instrument that produced the cry of a young Burṣul and thereby collected olives. (**D.** f 95*a*. IV. xxiv. **2074**).

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1) **C.** f 393*a* عبد الله حزبل (*sic*); **D.** f 60*b* عبد الله حربل (*sic*). *Q. T. H.* p. 146; *Arabian Medicine* pp. 23–4.

2) *Fihrist*, p. 287; *Q. T. H.* pp. 90–5; *U. T. A.* Pt. I, p. 24 *sqq.*

3) **D.** f 84*a*: ومسقوردس; **D.** f 85*b*: ديقوريدس evidently Dioscorides, see *Fihrist*, p. 293; *Q. T. H.* pp. 183–4; *U. T. A.* Pt. I, p. 35, although *H. Khal.* III, p. 121, No. 4662 mentions a *Kitábu'l Ḥayawán* by ديوفراتيس. (On p. 25, *l.* 10, read Dioscorides for Democrates).

4) *Fihrist*, pp. 267–8; *Q. T. H.* pp. 95–8.

5) **D.** f 85*b* and **J.** f 382*b* read ابن ماسه *i. e.* ʿÍsá b. Mása, see *Fihrist* p. 296; *Q. T. H.* p. 246; *U. T. A.* Pt. I, p. 184; several other references to him occur in the same part on pp. 130, 142, 149, 165, 170, 171, 175 in the following manner: «و قال اسحٰق بن علىّ الرهاوى فى كتاب أدب الطّبيب عن عسى بن ماسة الطّبيب»; whereas **K.** f 528*b* and **M.** f 236*a* read ابن ماسويه *i. e.* Yúḥanná b. Másawayh, see *Fihrist* pp. 295–6; *Q. T. H.* pp. 380–91; *U. T. A.* Pt. I, pp. 175–83.

6) Probably referring to his *Kitabu'l-Ḥayawán*, which is mentioned in the *Fihrist*, p. 251; *Q. T. H.* p. 41; *H. Khal.* III, p. 121. An Arabic version of it is in the Br. Mus. [Add. 7511.] See old Arabic Cat., p. 215*a*; another combined work which is based on Aristotle is [Or 2784 Br. Mus.] see Suppl. Ar. Cat., pp. 531–2.

7) *Fihrist*, pp. 288–91; *Q. T. H.* pp. 122–32; *U. T. A.* Pt. I, pp. 71–103.

8) **D.** رومس كبر; other Mss.: روفس كبير see *Fihrist* pp. 291–2; *Q. T. H.* p. 185; *U. T. A.* Pt. I, pp. 33–4.

9) **D.** مارنطوعودون; probably μαρτιχόρος (μαρτιχώρας), Persian مردخوار

10) **D.** اطمينوس; **K.** f 535*a* = **M.** f 244*a*: اطليموس; probably, Ptolemy.

11) **D.** عربه

12) **D.** f 95*b* حبقانوس; **K.** f 537*b* حبقاقوس; **M.** f 247*a* حباقوس (?)

Subject-matter of the chapters on natural history in the *Jawami*.

In the introductory remarks (**D.** f 80*b*. IV. xxi. *Int.* 2009) al-ʿAwfí states, that, since he has treated at length of the nature and temperament of mankind throughout the entire work, he thinks proper to devote a few chapters to the animal kingdom also. Therefore, in this chapter (xxi) he starts with a description of domestic quadrupeds and gives a few of their peculiarities; in the next chapter (xxii) he takes up wild beasts; and in the following chapter (xxiii) he mentions some strange and uncommon animals, the accounts of which are found in the works of Greek authors on natural history, and briefly records their peculiarities, properties and special medicinal uses. Lastly, he closes the chapters on natural history with an account of strange birds (ch. xxiv), which is partly based on mythical and traditional accounts.

Importance of these chapters, and a notice of other works.

Although al-ʿAwfí does not claim to deal with the subject of natural history as a science and has selected only very peculiar and uncommon features of the animal kingdom for illustrating his chapters, yet we find that he has incidentally touched upon many problems connected with it, *e.g.*, instinct, natural affinity and animosity, preservation of species, struggle for existence, animal habits and tactics, coupling, cross-breeding, effect of environments at the time of conception, and of music on animals, and other problems. Similarly, as it was the custom of ancient writers on natural history to record the medicinal properties of the various parts of animals, he has also given us some information, which may appear to us very crude and elementary. The importance of some of these anecdotes can only be realised when we consider that they are probably the earliest remains in Persian of the works of some of the most important authors mentioned above. It is rather difficult to trace and identify these passages from ancient sources, as it is not known whether al-ʿAwfí drew all his information from Persian [1]) and secondary sources [2]) which contained these quotations or directly from Arabic translations of the older works; but there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of their contents, when we find him faithful as regards other sources which we possess, *e.g.* the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawán* of al-Jaḥiẓ. There is another work entitled the *Naʿtu'l-Ḥayawán wa Manáfiʿihi* [Or. 2784 Br. Mus.] which is said to have been compiled from the *Kitábu'l-Ḥayawáns* of Aristotle and that of ʿUbaydu'llah b. Jibráʾíl b. [ʿUbaydu'llah b.] Bukht-Yishúʿ, which in parts agrees with the accounts given by al-ʿAwfí [3]). Thus, these chapters on natural history follow the works of the ancient authors, though much of accuracy is lost during transition, and pave the way for works like the *ʿAjáʾibu'l-Makhlúqát* of Zakariyyá Qazwíní, to which many accounts of semi-scientific nature are common [4]).

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1) Cf. Flugel, Vienna Cat., Band III, p. 451, fragment No. 17. It contains a few anecdotes taken from the *ʿAjáʾibu'l-Makhlúqát* of Muḥammad Nasafí (?). According to Flugel a major portion of these anecdotes is also found in the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*, but the present writer had no opportunity of comparing these texts and establishing their relation to each other.

2) See above, Notice No. (29).

3) *E.g.* the following passage about the yearly change of sex in the hyena appears to be a literal translation. [Or. 2784 Br. Mus.], ff 171*b*–172*a*: «خالف الضبع جميع اصناف الحيوان و أنواعه و ذلك انّها تصير سنةً ذكراً و سنةً انثى تتبدّل كلّ سنة من ذكورة الى اناثة و من اناثة الى ذكورة فهى الذكر و هى الانثى معاً تلقح أحياناً كالذكر و أحياناً كالانثى بجوهرها مختلط عجيب» Cf. (**D.** f 88*a*. IV. xxii. 2044) «و بعضى از [حكما] يونان گفته است که کفتار سالی نر باشد و سالی ماده و گاه گشنی کند و گاه با او گشنی کنند و این سخن را اصلی نتوان دانستن و قول این بر عقل ممتنع باشد»

4) See the *Table of Contents* Pt. IV, chs. xxi–xxiv for parallel references.

(35). The *Kitábu'l-Firása.*

References to this work in the *Jawámiʿ*.

This work is mentioned four times in the *Jawámiʿ* without the name of its author. In one anecdote, dealing with the origin of the science of physiognomy, in the chapter "On the Sagacity of Eminent Persons", Aflímún [1]) is mentioned as the founder of this science; and the oft-quoted story [2]), of his correct reading of the lustful nature of Hippocrates from a chart of his features, is told at length, (**A.** f 154*b*. I. xi. **589**). In another anecdote, the Imám Sháfiʿí is said to have gone in search of this science to different countries and acquired a considerable knowledge of reading men's characters from their features, (**A.** f 153*b*. I. xi. **579**) Two other references to this work are given in connection with the relation of external features to the human mind, (**D.** f 194*a*. III. i. **1543**), (**D.** f 194*b*. III. i. **1545**)

Identification not possible.

It is not known which particular author's work was in the hands of al-ʿAwfí. In these citations he alludes to a work written by the Greek philosophers. Ibnu'l-Qifṭí in his *Ta'ríkhu'l-Ḥukamá'* (p. 60) in the biography of Aflímún says that the treatise of Aflímún on physiognomy was translated from Greek into Arabic; but he does not mention the name of the translator. H. Khalfa (Vol. IV, p. 388, No. 8943) speaks of a work on the above subject, composed by the Imám [Fakhru'd-Dín] ar-Rází (d. 606 A. H. = 1209 A. D.) which was based on the work of Aristotle, and enumerates a few other works on physiognomy, but unfortunately none of these has come down to us.

(36). The *Kitábu'l-Maghází.*

Acknowledged citations from the *Kitábu'l-Maghází* of Muhammad b. Isḥáq.

The name of Muḥammad [3]) b. Isḥáq (d. 151 A. H. = 768 A. D.) is particularly mentioned in connection with the above work twice in the *Jawámiʿ*. One anecdote which is related on the authority of Muḥammad b. Isḥáq, the author of the *Maghází*, concerning the vow of ʿAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet, to sacrifice one of his sons (**A.** f 32*b*. I. ii. **53**), is preserved *in extenso* in the *Síratu Rasúli'lláh* (pp. 97–100) of ʿAbdu'l-Malik [4]) b. Hishám (d. 218 A. H. = 834 A. D.), in whose recension the work of Ibn Isḥáq is preserved mainly. Another anecdote, about a man from an Arabian tribe who was taken prisoner during the early victories of the Prophet and breathed his last on separation from his beloved (**D.** f 36*b*. IV. x. **1896**), is also taken from the *Maghází* of Ibn Isḥáq, but it is not traceable to Ibn Hishám. There is another citation from an indefinite *Maghází* concerning the famous steed of Saʿd b. Abí Waqqáṣ called Balqá' and the poet Abú Miḥjan aṯh-Ṯhaqafí's exploit on the eve of the Battle of Qádisiyya, (**D.** f 85*a*. IV. xxi. **2029**). The latter anecdote is genuine [5]), but it belongs to a

[1]) *Fihrist*, pp. 314, 356; Flügel in his Notes, p 155, No. 3 has identified him with Polemon.
[2]) *Q. T. H.* p. 91–2; *U. T. A.* I, pp. 27–8; *H. Khal.* IV, pp. 589–90; *Q. A. M.* p. 385, his work is cited.
[3]) See the various notices on him collected by F. Wüstenfeld in his Einleitung to *H. S. R.* and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 134–5.
[4]) *Ibid.; Ency. Islam*, Vol. II, p. 387 for bibliography.
[5]) Cf. the account of Abú Miḥjan in the *Kitábu'sh-Shiʿri wa'sh-Shuʿará'* of Ibn Qutayba, ed. M. J. de Goeje, pp. 251–2.

later period, hence it cannot possibly be connected either with the work of Ibn Isḥaq or of Ibn Hishám.

Other anecdotes which correspond with Ibn Hishám's version.

Besides these acknowledged anecdotes, there are at least 21 fairly long accounts [1] which materially correspond with the *Sirat* of Ibn Hisham. All these are connected with the life of the Prophet and various campaigns which he waged against the unbelievers of Arabia. From this it is obvious that al-Awfí has considerably utilised the *Magházi* either through the medium of Ibn Isḥáq or Ibn Hisham or al-Waqidí or some other early writer. In these anecdotes there are very few poetical citations, and much less the insertions of Ibn Hishám. The Persian rendering is very accurate, but has very few references to proper names; and the accounts in the main are correct, but occur like detached and abbreviated excerpts.

Other works mentioned in the *Jawámi'*.

The *Jawámi'* is also rich in the accounts [2] of the early conquests of Islam during the Orthodox and the Umayyad Caliphate which are directly connected with Tradition and the early history of Islam. The sources of these anecdotes are not mentioned, but we find here and there agreement either with the accounts given by Ibn Sa'd, al-Baladhurí, al-Bukhárí or aṭ-Ṭabarí, which, especially in the case of traditional literature, is not a sure basis for correct identification. In different connections, indefinite references are made to six other works connected with theology, Tradition and exegesis of the *Qur'án*, which again do not permit us to determine exactly the books al-Awfi might have consulted in preparing these anecdotes, *e.g.* the *Siyaru'l-Kabír* and the *Jámi u'l-Kabír* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ash-Shaybání [3] (d. 189 A.H. = 804/5 A.D.), the disciple of the great Ḥanafite theologians, the Imám Abú Ḥanífa an-Nu'mán b. Thábit (d. 150 or 151 A.H. = 767 or 768 A.D.) and the Imám Abú Yúsuf Ya'qúb b. Ibrahím (d. 182 A.H. = 795 A.D.), (**A.** f 214*a*. I. xvii. **967**), (**A.** f 214*b*. I. xvii. **975**), (**A.** f 214*b*. I. xvii. **976**); the *Musnad Akhbár-i-Nabawi* (?) (**A.** f 4*a*. II. ii. **1198**); the [*Jámi'u's*-]*Ṣaḥiḥ* of Abú Abdi'llah Muḥammad b. Ismá'íl al-Bukhárí (d. 256 A.H. = 870 A.D.), (**D.** f 124*b*. II. vii. **1321**); the *Gharíbu'l-Hadíth* (?), (**A.** f 140*a*. I. viii. **482**), (**D.** f 14*b*. IV. iv. **1825**); and the *Jámi'u'l-Kabír fi't Tafsír* of the Imám Náṣir (?) Ghazálí, (**D.** f 17*b*. IV. v. **1835**).

(37). The *Masálik wa Mamálik*.

Difficulty in the identification of the sources of al-'Awfí for cosmography.

Among the various subjects represented in the anecdotes of the *Jawámi'*, cosmography, wonders of the world and talismans occupy four chapters at the end of the book: Pt. IV, chs. xvi–xix, Anecs. **1963–95**; but in these cases, it is very difficult to trace the actual sources of al-'Awfí, as he himself acknowledges in one passage [4] that he has drawn his material for cosmography from several indefinite works

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1) All parallel references are given in the *Table of Contents*; Pt. I, ch. ii, Anecdotes **52–58, 69, 73–74, 76–78**; Pt. I, ch. xii, Anecdotes **647–652**; Pt. I, ch. xiii, Anecdote **676**; Pt. II, ch. xvii, Anecdote **1453**.

2) See the *Table of Contents*, Pt. I, ch. xii, Anecdotes **653–674**, Pt. I, ch. xiii, Anecdotes **677–687**.

3) *Ansáb*, facs. p. 342*b*; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, 171–2.

4) **D.** f 71*a* = **K.** f 523*a* = **M.** f 217*a*. IV. xvii. **1976**: «و امثال این غرایب و عجایب در اطراف و حوالی [K.M. نواحی] عالم سیارست و نوادر طبایع ساکنان ربع مسکون بی شمار، این دو باب را از [K. adds عجایب M. adds عجایب] کسی که درین باب تالیف کرده اند چون [K.M. add. کتاب] مسالك و ممالك و کتاب طبایع و غیرآن استخراج کرده [K.M. آمد] و برین قدر اختصار افتاد»

like the *Masálik wa Mamálik* and the *Kitáb-i-Ṭabáʾiʿ* [probably of *al-Buldán*]. From the time of Ibn Khurdádbih who began his *Masálik wa Mamálik* about 232 A. H. = 846 A. D., the earliest extant work on the "Routes and Continents", to that of Yáqútu'l-Ḥamawí, an illustrious contemporary of al-ʿAwfí, who made a fair copy his *Muʿjamu'l Buldán* in 625 A. H. = 1228 A. D, there are at least three more works extant of the same title [1]), that of Iṣṭakhrí (who wrote in 340 A. H. = 951 A. D.), of Ibn Ḥawqal (who wrote in 367 A. H = 978 A. D) and of al-Bakrí [2]) (d. 487 A. H = 1094 A. D), and similarly there are more than twelve old extant works [3]) with the titles of *ʿAjáʾibu'l-Buldán* and *Kitábu'l-Buldán*; therefore, it is very difficult to identify the works used by al-ʿAwfí. Moreover a comparison of the material and arrangement of the two chapters (xvi–xvii) on cosmography with the extant *Masálik wa Mamáliks* shows that al-ʿAwfí did not utilise them, and has probably drawn his material from some comparatively late work.

A notice on the cosmographical portion in the *Jawámiʿ*.

In these two chapters on cosmography [4]) al-ʿAwfí has given us a rudimentary sketch of the world as it was known to the old Arab geographers, and has described the main groups of peoples inhabiting the different "climes". In chapter xvi, after describing the ancient physical geography of the world, he goes on to the division of the globe into seven *Iqlíms* or "climes", which is more or less the same as that adopted by his predecessors like al-Masʿúdí [5]) and by his successors like Zakariyyá al-Qazwíní [6]) and Shamsu'd-Dín ad-Dimashqí [7]) (d. 727 A. H. = 1327 A. D.). Then he gives an account of the ancient Chín, its old capital, fine arts and civilization, and a few other interesting details (**D.** f 66*a*. IV. xvi. **1965**), some of which are taken from an *Akhbár-i-Chín*, and correspond with the account given by Yáqút [8]) from the itinerary [9]) of Abú Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil al-Khazrají al-Yanbúʿí (who wrote after 331 A. H. = 942 A. D.). Further on, he gives us really valuable information about ancient Turkistán and the Valley of Kharkhíz and the various Turkish tribes that once existed in those regions, (**D.** ff 66*b*–68*a*. IV. xvi. **1966–7**). The importance of these sketches has been shown by Professors Barthold [10]) and Marquart, as has been noticed previously (pp. 31–2). In the next chapter (xvii), al-ʿAwfí takes up the historical geography of Rúm or Byzantium,

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1) Three of them are edited by M. J. de Goeje in the Bib. Geog. Arab. Vols. VI, I, II, respectively.

2) The whole work is not accessible to the present writer, but from the extracts published by De Slane in the *Description de l'Afrique* etc. (Alger, 1857), and by A. Kunik and V. Rosen "On al-Bakrí", St. Petersbourg, 1878, it can be ascertained that al-ʿAwfí did not use al-Bakrí's *Masálik wa Mamálik.*

3) Details about these works and Arab geographers will be found in the following works: *Géographie D'Aboulféda* traduite .... par M. Reinaud, (Paris, 1848), Tome I, Introduction, chapter II; *Palestine under the Moslems* by Mr. Guy Le Strange, (London, 1890) pp. 1–13; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 225–30, 475–82; M. J. de Goeje's introductions to the Bib. Geog. Arab. Series; *L. E. C.* pp. 11–6. The present writer is indebted to Mr. Guy Le Strange who was kind enough to solve some of his difficulties in these chapters.

4) See the *Table of Contents*: Pt. IV, chs. xvi–xvii, for a detailed account.

5) *M. T. I.* pp. 31–3.

6) Cf. The *Átháru'l-Bilád* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (= *Q. A. B.*) pp. 9, 48, 92, 188, 330, 387, 410.

7) Cf. The *Nukhbatu'd-Dahr fí ʿAjáʾibi'l-Barri wa'l-Baḥr* ed. M. A. F. Mehren, (1886), (= *D. N. D.*), pp. 17–25.

8) *Y. M. B.* Vol. III, pp. 445–54.

9) Probably his *ʿAjáʾibu'l-Buldán* is alluded to by Yáqút.

10) Also in ZVO., IX, (1895), pp. 262–7 for an extract about Rús.

and gives a short description of the military organisation, civil administration, religious orders and the revival of Greek learning as introduced into Asia Minor, (**D.** f 68*a*. IV. xvii. **1968**). Then follows an account of Arabia, its pre-Islamic civilization and a few features of the Bedouin life, (**D.** 68*b*. IV. xvii. **1969**). Next comes India, but the information does not exceed a few remarks about the black arts and the diversity of her races 5 and religions, (**D.** f 69*b*. IV. xvii. **1971**). Then he deals with the Ḥabasha and gives a few interesting details about their curious manners, customs and superstitions, (**D.** f 69*b*. IV. xvii. **1972**). Lastly, he closes this chapter with a very long account of the People of the Jazá'ir, by which he means those who dwelt on the isles round the Caspian Sea, and with an account of the land of Maghrib [1]), (**D.** f 70*a*. IV. xvii. **1976**). 10

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[1]) Cited in *H. N. Q.*, see above, p. 27; utilised by Cl. Huart, see above, p. 32 (*l.* 5, where by an oversight reference to the folio and to the anecdote number is wrongly printed); for *Siyaru'l-Muluk* as its source, see above, pp. 56, 59.

All the 37 Notices in this chapter have undergone the scrutiny of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth and Dr. R. A. Nicholson who have laid the present writer under deep obligations.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS. OF THE *JAWAMI'U'L-ḤIKAYAT*

(pp 105—124)

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF ALL THE KNOWN MSS. OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT* WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISH A STANDARD TEXT.

There are nearly thirty-four Mss. [1]) of the *Jawámi u'l-Ḥikáyát* preserved in the various libraries of Europe. Seven are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; an equal number in Petrograd or Leningrad · three in the Asiatsky Muzei, two in the Imperatorskaya Publichnaya Biblioteka and two in the Imperatorsky Sanktpeterburgsky Universitet; six in the British Museum, London; five in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; two in the India Office Library, London; two in the collection of Prof. E. G. Browne, Cambridge; two in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich; one in the Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek, Vienna; another in the Nur-i- Uthmaniyya Library, Constantinople and another in the John Rylands Library, Manchester [2]).

Very little is known about the Mss. of this work in the East, beyond a few incidental references in the following works. Sir William Ouseley writes in his *Travels in various Countries of the East*, *etc.* [3]) (published at London in 1821): "The two copies which I have used are large folio Mss.; one containing 850 pages, the other above one thousand". Dr. Sprenger in his "Descriptive List of the Mss. of Sir Henry Miers Elliot" [4]), after giving a short description of the Ms. of the *Jawámi'* in possession of Sir H. M. Elliot, says that it belonged to the "Heirs of Maharajah Ratan Chand Bareilly, folio, old and splendid, near a thousand pages of 29 lines, close writing. It contains the fourth part, but there seems no third Qism in this. There is also a copy in As. Soc." [5]). Then Edward Thomas of the Bengal Civil service who edited the *Essays on Indian Antiquities* [6]) etc. of the late James Prinsep, F. R. S., in 1858, says: "A good Ms. in my own possession, one of the few that Ranjít Singh's library boasted of", and quotes from H. T. Prinsep's Ms., both of which evidently were at his disposal. *Circa* 1869, Prof. John Dowson, the editor of the "*History of India*", *etc.* [7]) by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, writes: "Copies of the Jámi'u-l Hikáyát are not uncommon. Sir H. Elliot used in India two large folio Mss., one containing 850, and the other 1000 pages. There is a fine copy in the East India Library [8]). The Editor has had three large Mss. for use and reference. One fine perfect copy in Naskh characters belonging to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, size 16 × 11 inches; another in folio belonging to the late Raja Ratan Singh, of Bareilly, in which the third kism is deficient, and lastly, a Ms. which formerly belonged

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1) See below, the accompanying *Chronological Table* on p. 111.

2) Yet there might be some other Mss. even in Europe which have not come to light. The present writer has actually examined nearly twenty-two Mss.

3) See above, p. 31. 4) Published in JAS. Bengal, (1854), vol. xxiii, p. 259, No. 191.

5) Probably [R. A. S. 341], an excerpted Ms., is referred to.

6) Published at London, (1858), Vol. I, pp. 317–8.

7) Vol. II, p. 157. 8) Probably L *i.e.* [Ind. Off. 595] is referred to.

to Ranjít Singh and is now the property of Mr. Thomas. This last contains only the first two Kisms, but as far as it goes it is fuller and more accurate than the others. The different copies vary considerably in the number of stories"[1]). The above extracts suggest the probable existence of a few other Mss. of this work in India, the home of this book; but judging from the number of the Mss. of this work that are found in the Western libraries, there is very little doubt that the oldest and the best royal codexes of this work have been transported by various agencies to Europe.

A note on the acquisitions of the Mss of the *Jawámi*ᶜ

Cursorily glancing upon the history of the acquisitions of the Mss. enumerated above, we find that most of them were brought over from India, Persia, Arabia, and Turkey. Thus the "*Annals of the Bodleian Library*" (p. 369) under the year 1859, says of the John Bardoe Elliott collection which is now preserved at Oxford: "And the munificent gift of a very valuable collection of 422 volumes of Arabic and Persian Mss. was received from Mr. J B. Elliott, of Patna, (not the historian). These chiefly consist of the Mss. which Sir Gore Ouseley (who died Nov. 18, 1844,) obtained during his diplomatic service in the East, commencing his collection when stationed at Lucknow, and completing it while ambassador in Persia, of which Mr. Elliott had been the purchaser. A small remaining part had previously been bought by the Library, as noted under 1858". And again (p. 367)· "Thirty-nine choice Persian and Arabic Mss., which had formed part of Sir Gore Ouseley's collection, were bought from his son, the late Rev. Sir Fred. Gore Ouseley, Bart., for £ 500. The rest of the collection came by gift." Out of the seven Mss. at Oxford, one is Sir Gore Ouseley's own copy, another his brother Sir William's, a third one is Fraser's, and the rest were probably collected by J. B. Elliott himself. Amongst these, [Elliot 171 and 172] is a fine complete Ms. of the work in two volumes, which once belonged to a royal library. Other Mss. taken out of the royal libraries of India either went to the British Museum or to the India Office Library; and a few from Turkey which were originally transcribed in Persia went through French acquisitions to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The few Petrograd Mss. must naturally have come from Turkistán. Among the various collectors, whose notices will be found under the annals of the acquisitions of individual collections, the names of Sir Gore Ouseley, Sir William Ouseley, Sir Henry Miers Elliot, the historian of India, J. B. Elliott, Sir William Jones, Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, Fraser(?), William Yule, George William Hamilton, Claudius James Rich, Henry Gordon, H. G. Keene, Wallis Budge, [N.] Bland, John Baillie, Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, and Ducurroy (?) are known.

Order of merit of the Mss., and a plan for a standard and complete text of the *Jawámi*ᶜ.

The order of merit of the Mss. of the *Jawámi*ᶜ almost corresponds with the chronological arrangement adopted in the accompanying *Table* which is based partly on the accuracy of the text and partly on the age of the Mss.. As regards the latter, the seven 14th century A. D. Mss., *viz.* **A.** to **G.**, are the oldest we possess, and are very important. In spite of the fact that four of them, *viz.* **A.**, **C.**, **D.** and **E.**, are incomplete, that three of them, *viz.* **C.**, **F.** and **G.**, are undated, and that one, *viz.* **B.**, is abridged in places while another, *viz.* **F.**, is entirely abridged and supplemented with anecdotes of a later period, yet all of them contain archaic spellings, and permit us to judge

[1]) The present writer is unable to trace the places of burial of some of the Mss. referred to in these extracts. An undated complete 15th century Ms. is described in the Cat. Ar. Pers. Mss. Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. VIII, p. 171. No. 727.

the comparative value of the later Mss., and to determine, on the whole, the nearest possible correct and complete text of the work; moreover they are accessible to European scholars, on account of their being preserved in the great libraries of Paris and London. In general the present *Introduction to the Jawámi* is based on the study of nearly twenty-two Mss. and in particular on a close study of the first seven Mss.. Consequently, 5 five Mss. **A.**, **B.**, **C.**, **D.** and **G.** are selected for a *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters, and two dated Mss., **A.** and **D.**, offering a unique opportunity of establishing a full and complete text of the four parts, are adopted as the bases of a projected text, which the present writer hopes to publish at some future date, and **G.**, being a complete Ms., is adopted as a companion text along with **A.** and **D.** for purposes of 10 general reference, description of the titles and standardising the anecdotes throughout the complete *Table of Contents of the Jawámi*.

The 15th century Mss.

Next in order are the four 15th century A.D. Mss., *viz.* **H.**, **H bis**, **I.** and **I bis.** The first three are dated and complete, the last one is undated, but contains archaic spellings; hence it is also included amongst the 15th century Mss. All these are also 15 important for various reasons, although their textual value cannot be estimated very high. **H.** is the next complete Ms. and is very helpful for purpose of reference and collation. **H bis** is the earliest Ms. containing miniatures. It once formed part of the Baillie collection and was presented to the Edinburgh University Library, but is at present missing from there. It is provisionally included in this list, in order to facilitate 20 its discovery, and given its due place in the chronological order, if perchance it were discovered anywhere or restored to the Library, it would deserve careful study and consideration. Then **I.** is a royal Ms. transcribed in Turkey in the flourishing period of Persian literature under the Ottoman Sultans. **I bis** is the oldest of the Petrograd Mss.; it offers good readings and compares favourably with **C.** and **D.**, although it 25 is incomplete.

The 16th-19th centuries Mss.

The third group is that of the 16th century A.D. Mss. All the four, *viz*, **J.**, **K.**, **L.**, **L bis**, are complete but undated and merit little consideration, excepting **K.** which is stated to have been transcribed from a 14th century Ms. and offers fairly correct readings. **L bis**, though not so old, probably contains some of the additional anecdotes 30 hitherto found in **A.** exclusively, and also appears to be either abridged in places or marred by omissions. Then the 17th century group of ten Mss., which almost contains dated and complete ones, is a huge mass of mediocre and unreliable transcripts; here and there one might find some valuable readings as in **M.**, but on the whole these later texts deserve very little credit. Then come those of the 18th and 19th centuries, 35 most of which have not been personally examined by the present writer and, from the scanty descriptions collected from various sources, appear to be very modern, ordinary and unreliable texts, excepting the Núr-i-Uthmániyya 3272, which owing to its being deposited in that Library for ages and also being included in *H. Khalfa* deserves a thorough examination, in order to estimate its real textual value and establish its 40 relative position in this list. These later texts do not materially affect the plan of standardising the text of the *Jawámi*ʿ which is aimed at in this survey of the Mss.

Method advocated by Mírzá Muḥammad.

It might be added in the end, as a safeguard for editing a work on a scientific basis, that, as Mírzá Muḥammad Khán Qazwíní, one of the greatest contemporary

Persian scholars and exponents of textual accuracy and collation, once remarked, there is no such thing as a perfect text of a single Ms. in the Persian language, because it does not exist. The nearest approach to the original can be gained only by consulting almost all the available Mss., and using due discretion and strict precision in collation and exact reproduction of the various readings of the Mss., however 5 modern they may be, as sometimes some of the oldest and most reliable Mss. contain incorrect readings, which may possibly be rectified in a very late Ms. If the scribes in the past, through their harmful ingenuity and failure to understand a passage or a word, have emended or distorted the text in order to make it readable and clear, let not the same mistake be repeated in editing a text on a scientific basis. In view 10 of these valuable suggestions almost all the available Mss. have been examined, out of which we have nearly ten old and reliable Mss. from which a standard and complete text of the *Jawámiʿ* can be safely established, while others can be dispensed with, since we know their comparative merit. Unless and until a contemporary or an autograph codex luckily comes to light and reveals entirely new features, this plan 15 will remain final.

A Chronological Table[1]) of the Mss. of the *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát.*

No.	Chrono.[2]) Order.	Original Mark of the Mss.	Dated = Cent. A.H.	A.D.	Contents[3]): Parts	Textual Importance.
1.	A.	= Ancien Fonds Persan 75. Bib. Nat., Paris.	699	14th	I; II, chs. i–x only.	The oldest, fullest and most accurate Ms.: base for Pt. I
2.	B.	= Suppl. Persan 95, Bib. Nat. Paris.	717	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Correct, helpful but abridged in places.
3.	C.	= Or. 6855, Br. Mus., London.	—	Do.	I; II; III; IV o.	Very old, correct and helpful, but portions missing.
4.	D.	= Or. 2676, Br. Mus., London.	732	Do.	IV; II: III only.	Very old, correct and reliable: base for Pts. II—IV.
5.	E.	= Or. 4392, Br. Mus., London.	741	Do.	I. chs. i–x only.	Very correct, but fragmentary.
6.	F.	= P. and A. 59 (Jones) Ind. Off., London.	—	Do.	I: II: III; IV.	Abridged and supplemented.
7.	G.	= Suppl. Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris.	—	Do.	o I; II: III; IV	Complete, correct and reliable: used as companion Ms.
8.	H.	= Elliot 171 + 172. Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	832–3	15th	o I; II: III: IV.	Complete, fairly good and helpful.
↑ 9.	H bis.	= Univ. Lib. Edin. 119. (Baillie MS.).	842–3	Do.	o I; II; III: IV.	Complete, contains 30 miniatures, but at present lost
↑ 10.	I.	= Persisch 422, Hof. Bib. Wien.	896	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete and helpful.
↑ 11.	I bis.	= Imp Sank Univ. 648, Petrograd.	—	Do.	II; III: IV only.	Very old, fairly good and reliable.
12.	J.	= Add. 16, 862, Br. Mus., London	—	16th	o I; II; III: IV.	Complete, but incorrect, defective and unreliable.
13.	K.	= Or. 236, Br. Mus., London	—	Do.	o I: II; III; IV.	Complete, partly correct but unreliable.
14.	L.	= Ind. Off. 595, (Ethé Cat. 600), London.	—	Do.	o I; II: III; IV.	Complete, but evasive and unreliable.
↑ 15.	L bis.	= Imp Publ Bib. IV. 2. 33., Petrograd.	—	Do.	o I; II: III: IV.	Fairly good, contains additional anecdotes, but partly abridged.
16.	M.	= Add. 7672, Br. Mus, London.	1025	17th	III: IV only.	Later, but fairly good and helpful.
↑ 17.	M bis.	= Imp. Publ. Bib. V. 4. 31, Petrograd.	1032	Do	o I; II; III: IV.	Complete, but mediocre.
18.	N.	= Elliot 169, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	1042	Do.	o I; II: III; IV.	Complete, but mediocre and unreliable.
19.	O.	= Elliot 173, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	1049	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
20.	P.	= Schindler Ms., (Prof. Browne), Cambridge.	1059	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
21.	Q.	= Fraser 125, Bodl. Lib., Oxford	1061	Do.	o I; II: III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
22.	R.	= Elliot 174, Bodl. Lib, Oxford.	1067	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
23.	S.	= Elliot 170, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	—	Do.	II; III, IV only.	Mediocre.
24.	T.	= Ouseley 361, Bodl Lib., Oxford.	—	Do.	I only.	Mediocre and fragmentary.
↑ 25.	U.	= Crawford 81, John Rylands Lib., Manchester.	—	Do	II; III; IV only.	Mediocre and incomplete.
↑ 26.	V.	= Quatremère 35, Munich.	—	18th	o I; II: III: IV.	Complete but very late and ordinary
↑ 27.	W.	= Quatremère 53, Munich.	—	Do.	II: III; IV only.	Very late and ordinary.
28.	X.	= Naaman's Ms, (Prof. Browne), Cambridge.	—	Do.	I, only.	Do. Do. and unreliable.
29.	Y.	= Suppl. Persan 96, Bib. Nat., Paris.	—	Do	I, chs. i—xv only.	Do. Do. Do
30.	Z.	= Suppl. Persan 97, Bib. Nat., Paris	—	Do.	I, only.	Do. Do. Do.
↑ 31.	Pet. 1.	= Asia. Mus. 581*aa*, Petrograd	1251	19th	I, only.	Do. Do.
↑ 32	Pet. 2.	= Asia. Muz. 581*aa*-, Petrograd.	1261	Do.	o I; II: III; IV.	Do Do.
↑ 33.	Pet. 3.	= Asia. Muz. 581*aa*--, Petrograd.	—	Do.	III, only.	Do. Do.
↑ 34.	Pet. 4.	= Imp. Sank. Univ.-, Petrograd.	—	Do	——	Abridged and valueless.
↑ 35.	Núr. 1.	= Núr-i-'Uthmániyya 3272, Constantinople.	—	Do.	——	——
↑ 36.	Núr. 2.	= Núr-i-'Uthmániyya 3273, Constantinople.	—	Do.	——	Abridged throughout.
37.		(Unknown).	—	Do	I, only.	With miniatures.

[1]) This *Table* is intended for facilitating reference to the catalogues of various European Libraries, where, excepting **H bis**, all the Mss. are preserved, and to the accompanying *Descriptive List* in which fuller details are given and the comparative value of each Ms. for standardising a complete text is determined.

[2]) The letters of the alphabet representing the Mss. are arranged, as far as possible, in strictly chronological order, which also coincidentally corresponds with the order of merit. In the absence of dates and lack of information, palaeographical features and textual accuracy (*e.g.* in **C.**) or indications from the excerpts and descriptions of the Mss. (*e.g.* of the seven Petrograd Mss.) have been the reasons for preference and determination of the century to which the Ms. is likely to belong. Thus the letter of the alphabet will at once indicate the relative position of the Ms.

[3]) There are 17 complete Mss.; others are either in parts or abridged. **A.** and **D.** are the bases of the text for Pts. I, and II to IV respectively. Confused fragments and excerpted versions such as are found in the India Office, in the British Museum and in the Royal Asiatic Society Library are not taken into account. ↑ indicates a Ms. not examined by the present writer. o indicates a nearly complete Ms. Its position indicates the defective portions of the Ms.. Bis is used for duplicated letters.

Descriptive List of the Mss. of the Jawámi' u'l-Ḥikáyát.

1. [A. = Ancien Fonds Persan 75, Bib. Nat., Paris][1]), as the base for Pt. I.

Folios 255; size 35 by 24 cm.; 33 lines per page; dated; frontispiece; rubrications; occasional notes and a few short titles of anecdotes on the margin in different hands and at different periods; bold and beautiful Naskh; most probably transcribed in Persia; archaic spellings; each part divided into two *Mujallads* (a division which does not occur in any Ms. as the work, according to the author's division, is expressly denoted by *Qisms* only); transposition and inversion of folios 180–182, 208–214; missing folios in the beginning of Pt. I, f 19*b*–f 26*b*, and f 85 and f 92 are supplied by a careful reader; double pagination, Pt. II (chs. i–v) comes first, (folio numbers in ink only are referred to in the present work). Contents[2]): f 1*b*–f 18*b*, Pt. II, chs. i–v. Anecs. **1183-1284** (originally titled as *al-Mujalladu'th-Thálith*, but now, wrongly, as *al-Mujallad u'l-Awwal*; f 19*b*–f 26*b*, Pt. I, (original preface, defective list of chapter-headings and ch. i. Anecs. **1-32**, supplied by a later hand in Nasta'líq); on f 27*a* begins the original transcript and the Ms. breaks off on f 255*b* at the last but one anecdote (**1181**) of the 25th chapter of Pt. I Thus chs. i–xxv are complete. A dated colophon[3]) after the the first half of Pt. I, ch. x. Anec. **564** called *al-Mujalladu'l-Awwal* occurs on f 150*b* giving the date of transcript as Dhu'l-Qa'da 699 A. H. (= July 1300 A. D.), and below it is a short endorsement by an unknown reader which bears 21, Jumádá II, 803 A. H. (= Jan. 1401 A. D.) as the date of finishing the study of the *Mujallad*. Then on f 151*b* begins the subsequent portion called *al-Mujalladu'th-Thání*, which continues to the end of the part.

This is the oldest Ms. so far as it is known through an investigation of about thirty-four Mss. of the *Jawámi'* in Europe. It was transcribed nearly 70 years after the date of the composition of the work, which falls between 625 and 630 A. H., and like other Mss. it gives a clue to the progress of the work at the hands of the author[4]). It contains a much fuller text and about 175 genuine additional anecdotes, three-fourths of which are not found in any part of any of the Mss. which the present

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[1]) This Ms. is simply registered in the hand-written "Catalogue des Manuscrits de l'ancien fonds persan, par M. Fagnan" = (Supplément persan 1626, see p. 77), but no description is given. The present writer possesses a photograph of it.

[2]) For a detailed description, see below, the *Comparative Index* of the first 25 chs. of the *Jawámi'* on p. 132.

[3]) «تمت [تَمَّتْ or تَمَّ read either] المُجَلَّد الاول من كتاب جوامع الحكايات فى ثامن شهر ذى القعده لسنه تسعين و ستمايه»

[4]) (A. f 84*b* = C. f 125*b* = E. f 71*b* = K. f 84*a*. I. v. 202): In this anecdote, after giving an account of Ubulla, al-'Awfí adds that God has glorified this faith (Islam) in every age by instituting power in a king; and when the author was writing this account of the Persian conquest by Khálid [b. al-Walíd] during the Caliphate of Abú Bakr (d. 13 A. H. = 634 A. D.), the glad tidings of the victorious arms of the King (رايات اعلى ناصرى (?) شهنشاه غازى) in the campaign of Khokhar (كوكر) or (كوكهى) or (كوكهر) against Badru'd-Dín (تربال) or (ناباك) reached him. The date of this event is not ascertainable, nor is it precisely known to which particular ruler's banners reference is made. Iltutmish, of course, took a leading part under Quṭubu'd Dín Aybak, in the campaign of his over-lord Mui'zzu'd-Dín or Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad Ghúrí against the Khokhars in 602 A. H. (*M. T. N.* pp. 169–170), but that was long ago when al-'Awfí was wandering in Khurásán (see above, pp. 9—10), and the name of Badru'd-Dín Tirbál (?) is not associated with it. Probably this is an event of the latter part of Iltutmish's reign, which has not been recorded in Indian History as yet (See for "Khokhars" H. G. Raverty's notes, on *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*. (Index vol. p. 62) Eng. Trans., 1873–97.

writer has had the opportunity of examining; excepting probably **L bis**, which contains at least one anecdote (I. xiii. **728**) quoted exclusively from this Ms. by Prof. Barthold in his *Turkistán* (see above, p. 8, *ll.* 11–14). Thus the order and number of anecdotes in the present Ms. to the middle of Pt. I, (chs. i–xii), correspond exactly with all the older Mss.; but from chs. xiii–xxv a considerable number of anecdotes is added in each chapter. While in all the other Mss. the number of anecdotes decreases as the part advances and comes to an end, in this Ms. it does not fall below a minimum of 15, as will be seen by referring to the *Comparative Index* of the first 25 chapters of the *Jawámi'*.

Moreover this Ms. contains a few references by the author himself giving an indication of the succeeding chapters and anecdotes in other parts and a few personal and autobiographic[1]) anecdotes which are exclusively found in these additions. Another peculiar feature of this Ms. is that some anecdotes are repeated over again in the same part with slight variation under different headings, *e.g.* (**A.** f 187*b*. I. xiv. **742**) = (**A.** f 249*a*. I. xxv. **1152**), while a quarter of the additional anecdotes occur in other parts, without much variation, in other old Mss. also, *e.g.* (**A.** f 183*b*. I. xiii. **717**) = (**D.** f 159*a*. II. xvii. **1452**). On these grounds it might be maintained that this Ms. accurately represents the first original draft of the author, and that there has been a revision, partial rearrangement, omission of recurring anecdotes and cutting short of the number of anecdotes in general, either by the author himself or by a learned copyist at a very early epoch, since **B.**, the next oldest Ms., dated 717 A.H., and **C.** and **D.** do not contain three-fourths of this additional material.

This Ms. like **C.** and **D.** does not exhibit any striking[2]) features of orthography; but it contains, on the whole, some of the most predominant features of archaic spellings prevalent in the Persian transcripts of the 14th century A.D.[3]). There is a very sparing use of even necessary dots, nor strictly consistent use of *Dhál* for *Dál* and *Kí* for *Kih*, as might be expected from the 14th century style of writing. As regards the textual value of the Ms., it can be said with certainty that it has undergone very few material changes; and to a great extent proper names, quotations and Arabic and Persian verses are correctly transcribed, and at times offer readings which approach the original; but still a greater accuracy is desirable which can be attained only by collation. As regards the choice of synonyms, the placing of conjunctions, the use of pronouns, adjectives and adverbs and the interchange of tenses, it is not easy to determine after a comparison with **B. C. D.** and **E.** which are the original wordings of the author, as often they express the same sense and preserve essentially

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1) *E.g.* (**A.** f 185*b*. I. xiii. 728), (**A.** f 215*b*. I. xvii. 986), (**A.** f 235*b*. I. xxi. 1081), (**A.** f 236*b*. I. xxi. 1086), (**A.** f 246*a*. I. xxiv. 1137–1138). Besides these, a few anecdotes in the chapter "On Poets" actually correspond with the accounts given by him in the *Lubáb*, *e.g.* (**A.** f 242*b*. I. xxiii. 1124) = *Lubáb*, Pt. II, p. 22.

2) Rarely بستاخی (f 196*a*) for گستاخی; نوشین‌روان (f 75*b*) for نوشیروان; اذربادکان for اذربایجان; جبن‌کرخان (*sic*) for چنگیزخان.

3) See for examples, Mírzá Muḥammad's Persian introduction to *T. J. J.* p. ص Nos. 3, 4; p. صا, Nos. 5, 6, 7; p. صب, Nos. 8, 9, 10; p. صج, Nos. 12, 13, inconsistently; also Dr. M. Iqbál's preface to the *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr* pp. xxxviii–xl, excepting Nos. 2, 4, 7, 11, 12, 13.

the substance of the narrative and the meaning of the sentence. A comparison of **A.**, **C.** and **D.** is given below on p. 116, *n.* 1. Although this Ms. contains only a fourth part of the entire work, it was considered proper to establish the plan of a standard text on the basis of a Ms. which approaches much nearer the original, bears a date, and represents a much fuller text than is found in many of the complete but later and inaccurate Mss..

2. **B.** = [Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat.[1]), Paris].

Folios 289; size 36 by 26 cm.; lines 33 per page; dated; gilt frontispiece; margins; rubrications; border decoration at the beginning of each part[2]); archaic spellings; very good Naskhí; transpositions; most probably transcribed in Shíráz for some royal library; various endorsements and seals of Turkish and other owners; acquired from the collection of Ducurroy (?) sometime before 1st August 1873. Contents: ff 1*b*–149*a*, Pt. I: Preface, table of headings of the 100 chapters and chs. i–xxv; ff 149*b*–202*a*, Pt. II, chs. i–xxv; ff 202*b*–243*b*, Pt. III, chs. i–xxv; ff 244*a*–289*b*, Pt. IV, chs. i–xxv, in all a complete Ms.. In a short colophon at the end of the Ms. on f 289*b* the date of transcription is given as the middle of Jumáda'l-Ákhir 717 A. H. = August 1317 A. D.

This "*Exemplaire de Luxe*" codex of the *Jawámiʿ* is the second oldest dated one, but unfortunately it is a shorter recension of the text in places, though not a completely abridged one. At times synonyms and elaborate expressions of the author are omitted and sentences are cut short; the comparison with **A.** and **C.** given below will illustrate the comparative value of the two texts[3]). There are no insertions in the text of **B.** as in **F.**. It sometimes offers better readings, but in the cases of proper names and Arabic citations it does not help us much, as there are many instances of evasive transcription. Excepting the additional anecdotes in Pt I of **A.**, the number and order of the anecdotes in Pts. II–IV correspond exactly with other old Mss.[4]). Had it not been for its somewhat short recension, it would have served as a base for a complete text of the *Jawámiʿ*; and for the same reason it is not adopted even as a companion Ms. like **G.**, which, though later and undated, is not abridged. Since the 100th or the last chapter is defective in all other old 14th century Mss. like **C.**, **D.** and **G.**, this Ms. is adopted as the basis for that portion as will be noticed in the *Table of Contents*: Pt. IV, ch. xxv.

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1) This Ms. like the preceding one is registered in the hand-written "Catalogue du Supplément Persan", Vol. I, p. 96, but no description of it has yet been published.

2) See above, p. 5, where border headings are cited in evidence of the correct *Laqab* of al-ʿAwfí as Sadídu'd-Dín.

3) (Compare A. f 196*a*. I. xiv. 787) «رسمی بوذ که هر سال ملوك سامان مالی خطیر فرستادندی بمکه و مدینه تا بمجاوران دادندی و بر ایشان قسمت کردندی و انکس کی متقلد آن شغل بوذی بوقت مراجعت از عراق هدیها و طرایفها عراق بیاوردی احمد خوارزمی کفت» with B. f 122*b*. «و رسمی بود که ال سامانیان هر سال مالی خطیر فرستادندی بمکه و مدینه و بر ایشان قسمت کردندی احمد خوارزمی کفت» and C. f 40*b*. «و رسمی بوذ که آل سامان هر سال مالی خطیر فرستادندی بمکه و مدینه تا بمجاوران دادندی و بر ایشان قسمت کردندی و انکس که متقلد آن بوذی بوقت مراجعت از عراق هدیها و طرائف عراق بیاوردی احمد خوارزمی کفت».
Except for the addition of a few necessary diacritical points, these passages are copied as they are found in the texts

4) See below, the *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters of the *Jawámiʿ* on pp. 132–5.

3. C. = [Oriental 6855, Br. Mus., London].

Folios 397; size 9.5 by 12 inches; lines 29 per page; undated: rubrications: margins; archaic spellings; cursive bold Naskhí; transpositions: ff 310–312 supplied by a later hand; edges damaged; defective in the beginning and at the end, thus in Pt. I, chs. i–iii and in Pt. IV, chs. xviii–xxv are entirely missing; bought of David Fetto in 1908. Contents: Pt. I, ch. iv–xi, Anecs. **140–596** on f 99*a*–f 204*b*; Pt. I, chs. xii–xxv, Anecs. **619–1182** on ff 205, f 2*a*–f 79*b*; Pt. II, chs. i–v, Anecs. **1183–1291** on f 79*b*–98*b*; Pt. II, chs. v–xxv, Anecs. **1291–1540** on f 206*a*–f 271*a*; Pt. III, chs. i–xxv, Anecs. **1541–1789** on f 271*b*–f 344*a*; Pt. IV, chs. i–xvii, Anecs. **1790–1969** on f 344*b*–f 397*b*. On account of serious transpositions a few anecdotes are missing from the chapters enumerated above. 10

On account of its textual accuracy and close agreement [2]) with **A.** [3]) and **D.**, and the ancientness of its transcription which falls within the 14th century A. D., this Ms. stands third in chronological order; but unfortunately owing to the absence of date and serious lacunae and transpositions it could not be adopted as the basis of the text even for the portions which are entirely preserved. This Ms. has always been 15 consulted in cases of difficult readings and its contents are duly recorded in the *Comparative Index*; but the next Ms. *i.e.* **D.**, offering a unique opportunity for the completion of the basis of the text for Pts. II–IV in conjunction with **A.**, this Ms. is ignored for practical purposes.

4. D. = [Or. 2676, Br. Mus. London].

Folios 290; size 13.2 by 9 inches; 29 and 33 lines about 6.5 inches long; 20 dated; gilt frontispiece; rubrications; margins and the first few chapters of Pt. II are damaged by water stains; archaic spellings, careless use of dots; clear, bold, beautiful Naskhí; written either at different times or by two different scribes; order of Pts. changed: Pt. IV, which is much older, comes first, then follow Pts. II and III; Pt. I is completely lost; at the end of Pt. III, on f 290*a* the dated colophon appears as 25 Tuesday 22nd Ramadhán 732 A. H. (= June 1332 A. D.); acquired from the H. G. Keene collection, once belonged to a Mr. Gordon. For contents and other particulars, see Rieu Suppl. Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. pp. 245–7.

This Ms. though not so old and correct as **A.** or **C.** yet offers a unique opportunity of establishing a complete text together with **A.**. Thus, in a sense, **A.** and **D.** 30 are complementary, that is to say, the first part which is entirely missing from **D.** can be supplied from **A.** which contains that part in full; and they are, in point of time, textual value and for purposes of reference and systematic study, incomparable. Although there are about seventeen complete Mss., each has its own defects, a few are not dated, while most of them belong to a much later period and contain a hopelessly 35 corrupt text; therefore, only these two Mss. have been systematically followed in establishing a complete *Table of Contents* of the *Jawámi* as regards the number and serial order of the anecdotes, though, for variants, other older and later Mss. have always

1) This Ms. has not been catalogued as yet; it is simply registered under the acquisitions of 1908 in the hand-written Descriptive List of Oriental Mss. 1902–1910, British Museum. Mr. Edward Edwards, the Assistant Keeper in the Oriental Department of the British Museum, has kindly directed the attention of the present writer to the antiquity of this Ms.

2) *E.g.* **A.** f 18*b* = **C.** f 97*b* = **D.** f 116*b*. II. v. 1283. See also for variants, below, p. 116 *n.* 1.

3) Excepting for the additional anecdotes referred to above, pp. 112–3.

been consulted. The passage[1]) cited below will illustrate the comparative value of **A.**, **C.** and **D.** In spite of a few variations, which are natural, and the careless use of dots and a few minor changes in the three texts which do not materially affect the sense, there is a close agreement amongst the three. As regards names of places and persons, Arabic citations, Persian verses and a consistent use of archaic spellings, much more accuracy is desirable, but in the absence of better readings this Ms. approaches much nearer the original than any of the later ones. Unless and until a better text than that in **A.** and **D.** is discovered, these two Mss. should always be given preference.

5. **E.** = [Or. 4392, Br. Mus.], London.

Folios 222; size 11 by 8 inches; 25 lines 6¹/₈ inches long; dated; fair large Naskh; archaic spellings; serious transpositions of folios; edges damaged; written for the library of some great Wazír called Ḥusámu'd-Dín *Ṣayráf; copyist Maḥmúd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad at-Tustarí, colophon dated 2nd Jumádá II, 741 A.H. = Nov. 1341 A.D.; acquired from the Wallis Budge Collection. See for other particulars Rieu Suppl. Cat. Pers. Mss. pp. 247–8. This Ms. contains only the first ten chapters of Part I, and comprises more than 500 anecdotes; on f 210*b* appears the 534th anecdote of ch. x, Pt. I; owing to transpositions the order of the chapters is changed and a few anecdotes are missing. The textual value of this Ms. is very high, as the preserved portions offer excellent readings and have always been consulted in the preparation of the preceding chapters of the present work (*e.g.* see above, p. 51, *n.* 9, p. 52, *n.* 1). But unfortunately it cannot be taken into account either for arrangement or for a systematic study of the contents; hence it is ignored in the *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters.

6. **F.** = [P. and A. 59] Jones Mss., Ind. Off., London.

Folios 265; size 28 by 15.5 inches; 29 lines; headings of chapters in red; archaic spellings; well written old Naskh; undated; transcribed for some royal personage entitled Jamálu'l-Ḥaqq wa'd-Dín, was once in possession of a Turkish owner Muṣṭafa Ṣadafí (*sic*). Sir William Jones' Ms. presented to the Royal Society, but now preserved in the India Office Library[2]).

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1) Happily a portion of Pt. II is preserved in **A.** which offers a chance of comparison with the same text in **C.** and **D.**: How Ya'qúb b. Layth weds his luck to sword and conquests, (**A.** f 18*b* = **C.** f 97*b* = **D.** f 116*b*. II. v. 1283). This passage is exactly copied from **A.** and collations are given from **C.** and **D.**

A. f 18*b*. «[حکایت](a) اورده(b) اند کی(c) یعقوب لیث جون(d) از حد صبا(e) بحد بلوغ رسید بری(f) که نردیکتر(g) اقارب(h) او بود او را کفت که خاطر(i) من محال(j) تو ملتفت(k) است دست سمالی(l) راست کن(m) تا کسی را از بهر تو بخواهیم(n) یعقوب کفت انرا که من مىخواسم(o) دست بیان او راست کرده‌ام ان(p) پدر کفت که من ترا استظهاری(q) نی دانم(r) اکر دست بیان راست کرده بمن نمای(s) تا به(t) بینم یعقوب بخانه رفت و شمشیری برون اورد(u) و کفت بدان ای بذر(v) که ملك مشرق و مغرب را خطبه خواسم کرد انرا(w) دست بیان(x) به ازین نیست، بیت،

با بخت(y) نیك هیچ کسی را ستبر(z) نیست ٭ مهر عروس ملك محـز(z1) تیغ تیز نیست»

(*a*) **C. D.** add. (*b*) **C. D.** اورده. (*c, d*) **C.** بجون **D.** بجون instead. (*e*) **D.** صبی. [(*f*) **C. D.** بپری.
(*g*) **C.** نزدیك تر; **D.** نزدیکتر. (*h*) **C. D.** اقارب. (*i*) **D.** حاطر. (*j*) بحال. (*k*) **C.** متعلق; **D.** ملتفت
(*l*) **C.** بیانی; **D.** سمالی. (*m*) **D.** lacuna, damaged. (*n*) **C. D.** بخواسم. (*o*) **C. D.** میخواسم.
(*p*) **C.** آن. (*q*) **C. D.** استظهاری. (*r–t*) **D.** omits. (*s*) **C.** بنمای. (*u*) **C. D.** آورد. (*v*) **D.** بدر.
(*w*) **C.** و او را; **D.** و او را; lacuna, damaged. (*x*) **D.** پیانه. (*y*) **C.** بخت. (*z*) **C. D.** ستیز,
(*z*[1]) **C.** بجز; **D.** بجز.

2) See "Cat. of two collections of Persian and Arabic Mss. preserved in the India Office Library", by E. Denison Ross and E. G. Browne, pp. vii, 53–4.

This apparently complete but undated Ms. is an abridged, revised and supplemented version of the *Jawámiʿ*. On f 5*a*, in the original handwriting, the copyist and the recompiler whose name does not appear anywhere says that from a certain Ms. of this work a few other Mss. were transcribed; so it occured to him that it would be suitable, if he supplemented each chapter with similar unique and authentic anecdotes[1]. Consequently, additions of this nature are traceable throughout, *e.g.* Pt. I, ch. v. ff 74, an account of the Caliphate of Mustaʿṣim is given and it is brought down to the Sack of Baghdád by the Mongols [in 656 A.H. = 1258 A.D], which anecdote is not found in any other Ms.; probably, indeed, the author did not live up to that time. Besides this, amongst other places, on f 135*b* it is written "The author of the original, of which this is an abridgement, Núru'd-Dín Muḥammad Awfí says"[2]. All the eulogies at the end of the chapters and many anecdotes are omitted. Apart from these insertions and abridgements the text is not of any material value; hence this Ms. is ignored in the preparation of the *Comparative Index* and the *Table of Contents*.

7. G. = [Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat. Paris[3]], as companion Ms. for all the four parts.

Folios 358; size 38 by 29 cm.; 34 lines per page; undated; rubrications, illuminated at the beginning of each part, and border decorations[4]; archaic spellings; bold and beautiful Naskh; pious formulas have once been effaced and again restored, evidently by a Sunní; once in the possession of some Turk, now bears seals of the "Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal" and "Bibliothèque Imperiale", acquired sometime before 1877 A.D.

Contents: f 1*b*–f 3*a*, Preface of the author; f 3*b*–f 5*a*, a complete list of the hundred chapter-headings; f 5*b*–f 172*b*, Pt. I, chs. i–xxv, (except the 175 additional anecdotes found in **A.** only); f 173*b*–234*a*, Pt. II, chs. i–xxv; f 234*b*–f 290*a*, Pt. III, chs. i–xxv; f 290*b*–f 358*b*, Pt. IV, chs. i–xxv; undated colophons at the end of each part; the last two folios are supplied by a later hand, so that the original colophon and the last 30 anecdotes are entirely missing, which are supplied from **B.** in the *Table of Contents*. The date of the transcript is not known, but the first line from the *Bústán* of Saʿdí, and the Persian caligraphy, as surmised by Monsieur E. Blochet, suggest that this Ms. was written sometime during the 14th century A.D. Among the 14th century Mss., described here this is the only complete and reliable text of the *Jawámiʿ*; although its accuracy can not be highly guaranteed, yet for the purpose of general reference it is incomparable; hence it is adopted as a

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1) «و چون ازآن نسخهٔ چند نوشته شد در خاطر آمدکه اگر در ذیل هر بابی موافق آن باب از نوادر حکایات الحاق کند چه اربٰب سخن احماض را اعتباری تمام نهاده اند ه[نا] [لا]یق باشد هر بابی را نوادر مذیل [گردانید] و از بهر تبرّك و تیمّن تا مرغوب فیه و مطلوب باشد ابرا بنام مخدوم ملك اعظم صاحب معظّم اعدل ملوك عالم شهربار ابران افتخار و نظام جهان جمال الحقّ والدّین ضاعف جلاله موشح گرداند تا از پرتو ابن نسبت ابن نسخت ملحوظ نظر اصحاب فضل شود» آلخ

2) This is the only early record in a Ms. of the author's title as Núru'd-Din, see above, p. 4, *ll.* 23–33.

3) This Ms. has not been catalogued as yet; it is simply registered in the hand-written list called "Catalogue des Manuscrits du Supplément Persan par M. Fagnan, Bib. Nat. Paris", p. 404.

4) At the top and bottom of ff 173 and 174 this verse is given: (a few necessary dots are supplied)

معابش کسم ایـزد پاك را • که کوبا و بینا کند خاك را

and on f 234*a* and f 235*b*, the beginning couplet of the Bústán.

بنام خداونـد جان افرین • حکیم سخن در زبان افرین

companion Ms. throughout the *Table of Contents*, but the serial number of the anecdotes is established from **A.** and **D.** only, which form the bases of Pt. I, and II–IV respectively.

8. H. = [Elliot 171 and 172, Bodl. Lib., Oxford].

Folios 319 and 333, in two volumes; size 13 by 9.75 inches; 25 lines; dated; illuminated frontispiece at the beginning of each part, and gilt edges; clear medium Naskh; transcribed by an Indian, Darwísh Alí Kátib; Pt. I in one volume and Pt. II–IV in the second; end of Pt. II is dated 832 A.H., and end of Part IV 833 A.H. = 1429/30 A.D.. See for a full description of its contents the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Bodleian Library, by Sachau and Ethé, No. 324, coll. 176-7.

This is the second complete and dated Ms., and is in fact the gem of the John Bardoe Elliott collection, and must be taken into consideration for collation purposes, as at times it offers valuable readings.

9. Hbis = [Univ. Lib Edin 119], (Baillie Ms.), Edinburgh.

This Ms. is at present missing from the Edinburgh University Library. A full description of its contents is published in the "Descriptive Cat. Ar. Pers. Mss. in Edinburgh University Library" (1925) pp. 104–5, No. 119, where the statement about the author is erroneous. Here a description of it is copied for purposes of identification. Folios 380; 13 by $8^1/_2$ inches; 20 lines, each 5 inches long; written in good Naskh; illuminated frontispiece and gold-ruled margins; illustrated with 30 miniatures; bound in plain leather; dated 842–3 A.H. = 1439-40 A.D.. It contains all the four *Qisms*: Pt. I begins on f 1*b*; Pt. II, on f 203*b*; Pt. III, on f 286*b*; and Pt. IV, on f 342. The list of chapter-headings is stated to have been given at the end of the Ms. Should this Ms. be eventually discovered, the readers of these pages are requested to communicate about it with the present writer.

10. I. = [Persisch 422, Hofbibliothek, Vienna].

Folios 355; size $9^3/_4$ by $6^1/_2$ inches; 25 lines; fairly large Nasta'líq, headings in red; bears a chronogram [1]) dated 896 A.H. = 1490/1 A.D., from which it is obvious that it was transcribed in Turkey for Qúrqúd, the son of Sultan Báyazíd II (r. 1481–1512), by Ni'matu'llah b. Muḥammad b. 'Alí al-Ḥusayní. See for a description of its contents the Catalogue "Die arabischen, persischen, und türkischen Handschriften, Hofbibliothek zu Wien" by G. Flügel, Band I, pp. 410–2, where also the account of the dedication of the work is erroneous, as it appears to be entirely based on H. Khalfa; and Nathaniel Bland, probably following Flügel, has expressed his doubt about the identity of the author, thinking him to have dedicated the *Jawámi'* to the great wazír of the Saljúqs the Niẓámu'l-Mulk (see also above, pp. 3–4).

This Ms. has not been personally examined by the present writer as yet, but it certainly deserves attention, as it is the fourth complete and dated text; hence it is duly recorded in the *Chronological Table.*

The seven Petrograd Mss.

The present writer's information about the seven Petrograd Mss., *viz.* **I bis, L bis, M bis, Pet. 1.–Pet. 4.**, is partly based on the references to and extracts from the *Jawámi'* given by Prof. Barthold, and partly on the kind communication of Mr. Ignaz Kratchkovski [2]). The former has utilised in several of his studies four out of the

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[1]) On f 355*a*: تاریخ تمامی کتابت خواهی ٭ برخوان تو روان کتاب قورقود بدان

[2]) The present writer is indebted to Mr. F. Krenkow for kindly obtaing information about the last four Petrograd Mss. from Mr. Kratchkovski.

seven Mss., *viz.* **I bis, L bis, M bis,** and **Pet. 1.** Firstly in the *Zapiski Vostochnavo Otdyeleniya .... Arkheol. Obshchestva etc.* Vol. IX, 1895, pp. 262–7, he gives an extract from the *Jawámi'* (**D.** f 67*a*. IV. xvi. **1967**) concerning the ancient Russians, where in the footnote (No. 1) to p. 262, he briefly mentions the Mss. he has utilised, three of which are the same Petrograd Mss., *viz.* **I bis, L bis, M bis,** again utilised by 5 him in his second work, the *Turkistán* (Vol. I. pp. 83–101, Vol. II. p. 37). Then in his article "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" in the *Noldeke-Festschrift* (Band I, p. 176, *n.* 3), referred to above on pp. 31, 46, he gives a note about the fourth Petrograd Ms., *viz.* **Pet. 1.**, of the Asiatic Museum No. 581*aa*. The information collected from the above works about these four Mss. is recorded according to their 10 relative position in this *Descriptive list*.

11. I bis = [Imp. Sank. Univ. 648[1]], Petrograd.

This Ms. contains more than 160 folios, and the first part is altogether missing from it. Although it is undated, it is very old; from the archaic spellings we might suppose it was written in the 14th or 15th century A.D.. From a comparison of the cited anecdote[2]) (**D.** f 70*a*. IV. xvii. **1974**) with the text given in *Turkistán* 15 (Vol. I. pp. 100–101) it appears that its text is in close agreement with **D.** and that the Ms. contains a fairly reliable text, so far as it is preserved, and offers good variants and is worth close examination.

12. J. = [Add. 16,862, Br. Mus., London].

Folios 392; size 13¹/₄ by 8 inches; 33 lines; undated; written in small Naskh, apparently in the 16th century A.D. for some royal library with 'Unwáns and gold 20 margins; on the fly-leaf is a note written in Bíjápúr, India; acquired from the William Yule Collection. See for a full description of its contents and for a short monograph on the author, Rieu Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II. pp. 749–51.

Although this is the fifth complete Ms., its textual value is very small indeed. As regards proper names, quotations, cited verses and difficult passages it is extremely 25 unreliable. The copyist has either carelessly imitated the original or the copy from which this Ms. was transcribed was hopelessly defective and mutilated. Not only that the order of some of the anecdotes is altered, but in a few chapters in the first part, and in the middle of almost all the chapters in the third and fourth part, a few anecdotes are always missing. Evidently this is the trick of the scribe who wanted to 30 pass off his transcript as a complete one. Hence it is neither suitable for arrangement of anecdotes nor for purposes of systematic study.

13. K. = [Or. 236, Br. Mus. London].

Folios 541; size 11¹/₂ by 8 inches; 29 lines; transpositions; written in Naskh, apparently in the 16th century A. D.; bears seals of the royal libraries of Sulaymán Jáh and Amjad 'Alí Sháh of Lakhnaw; the beginning (ff 3–18) and the end (ff 536–541) are 35 older than the body of the text, that portion was transcribed, as stated at the end (f 541*a*), from a Ms. dated 712 A. H. = 1312/3 A. D., acquired from the George William Hamilton Collection. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II. p. 751.

This is the sixth complete Ms.; its textual value cannot be rated very high, but it is of course much more correct and helpful than **J.**. The number and order of 40 the anecdotes is almost the same as in other older Mss. except **A.**. The older and

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1) See C. Salemann and V. Rosen, "Indices... Codd.... Universitatis Petropolitanae, (1888), p. 13, where this Ms. is simply listed.

2) See above, Notice No. (10), p. 44, *ll.* 11–15.

worm-eaten portion in bad Nastaʿlíq offers excellent readings and is very useful for the collation of the Preface and the 100th chapter which are defective in the 14th century A. D. Mss. except **B.**

14. L. = [Ind. Off. 595, (Ethe cat No 600), London].

Folios 546; size $11^{3}/_{8}$ by $6^{1}/_{4}$ inches; 27 lines; undated; small Nastaʿlíq; ff 405–447 supplied later by another hand; collations in some places; from Richard Johnson's Collection in the Library of the East India Company; on a blank leaf is written in old English handwriting: "brought by Mr. R. Smith from Persia"; (as the handwriting of this Ms. is distinctly Indian in style, it is quite likely that this copy was once transported to Persia, and thence from India to the India Office Library[1]); amongst other endorsements there is one on f 1*a* dated as early as 1073 A. H. = 1663 A. D., but to all appearance this Ms. was transcribed earlier than that date, therefore it is reckoned among the 16th century A. D. Mss. in the *Chronological Table*. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Ind. Off. Lib., by Ethé, coll. 245–6.

This is the seventh complete Ms., but its textual value is very low, as on close examination it is found wanting in many respects. Not to speak of the diacritical points and numerous careless repetitions and omissions, proper names, difficult passages and Arabic and Persian verses are very badly copied; but the text is not distorted for purposes of elucidation.

As centuries pass the caligraphy and accuracy of the Mss. here listed deteriorate. All the 14th century Mss. show archaic spellings and beautiful Naskh and are comparatively reliable transcripts, while the 15th century Mss. though written in good Naskh are not so correct; in those of the 16th century Nastaʿlíq is common and archaic spellings have completely disappeared and the texts are very inaccurate; while most of the later Mss. grow even worse from textual as well as caligraphic points of view.

15. L bis = [Imp. Publ. Bib. IV. 2. 33]. Petrograd.

The second Petrograd Ms. is preserved in the Public Library. It is also undated and contains more than 408 folios and appears to be almost complete. Its textual value is determined, firstly, from the three anecdotes exclusively copied from this Ms. in the *Turkistán* pp. 88–9 = *Jawámiʿ* (**A.** f 85*b*. I. xiii. **728**), (**A.** f 203*b*. I. xvi. **850**) and (**A.** f 207*b*. I. xvi. **905**); secondly, from other extracts which are missing from it *e.g.* *Turkistán* pp. 100–101 = (**D.** f 70*b*. IV. xvii. **1974**); and thirdly from a comparison of its text with the corresponding portions in **A. C.** and **D.**. From the first point, it appears that it contains some additional anecdotes (*e.g.* **728**) which have hitherto been exclusively found in **A.**. From the second point, it can indirectly be inferred that this Ms. either omits or has a lacuna of some anecdotes which are found in the oldest Mss. (*e.g.* **1974**). From the last process, it is certain that at times this Ms. gives a shorter recension like **B.** and differs slightly in its readings from **A. C.** and **D.**; but on the whole it is a fairly good text and is worth a closer study; it probably belongs to the 16th century A. D.

16. M. = [Add. 7672, Br. Mus., London].

Folios 252; size $10^{1}/_{2}$ by 7 inches; 22 lines; dated; cursive Nastaʿlíq; acquired from the Cl. J. Rich Collection. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, p. 751.

This Ms. contains only Pts. III and IV and is well preserved and bears a

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[1]) Both the India Office Mss. were kindly sent on loan for the use of the present writer at the University Library, Cambridge.

comparatively accurate text which is helpful for the purposes of reference and collation.

17. Mbls = [Imp. Publ. Bib. V. 4. 31], Petrograd. The third Petrograd Ms. is also in the Public Library. It is dated 1032 A. H. = 1622/3 A. D. and contains more than 396 folios which comprise all the four parts, but does not offer very valuable readings and appears to be a mediocre Ms.

18. N. = [Elliot 169, Bodl. Lib., Oxford]. Folios 533; size 12 by $7^1/_2$ inches; 25 lines; illuminated frontispiece; Nastaʻlíq; occasional notes and glosses on the margin; dated 1042 A. H. = 1632 A. D. At the end on f 533*a*, there is added a description of Iṣfahán. See for other particulars Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodl. Lib., by Sachau and Ethé, col. 177, No. 325. Except for the Preface which is defective at the beginning, this is the tenth complete Ms., and is also amongst those collected by J. B. Elliott and now preserved in the Bodleian

19. O. = [Elliot 173, Bodl. Lib., Oxford]. Folios 467; size $12^3/_4$ by 8 inches; 25 lines; Nastaʻlíq; dated 1049 A. H. = 1639 A. D.. This is another Ms. of the J. B. Elliott collection among the 17th century Mss. of the *Jawámiʻ*. Except for a lacuna in the first part, it is the eleventh complete Ms., and like the other later ones is not worth much consideration. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodl. Lib. col. 177 No. 326.

20. P. = [Schindler Ms.], Prof. Browne, Cambridge. Folios 404, ff 35, 154, 338 are numbered twice, thus the total number of folios is really 407; size $15^1/_2$ by $9^1/_2$ inches; 25 lines; small legible Nastaʻlíq; rubrications; colophon (f 404*a*) dated 27th Muḥarram 1059 A. H. = Jan.–Feb. 1649 A. D., copied by ʻAbdu'r-Raḥím b. Muḥammad Niyásarí[1]) (*sic*); on f 1*a* an endorsement by Prof. Browne: "From the Library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. Bought from his heirs, January 5th, 1917. Edward G. Browne"[2]). Contents: f 1*b*–f 214*b*, Pt. I. chs. i–xxv; f 214*b*–f 287*b*, Pt. II, chs. i–xxv; f 287*b*–f 349*b*, Pt. III, chs. i–xxv; f 349*b*–f 404*a*, Pt. IV, chs. i–v, vii–xxv (after f 356*b* a few leaves are missing, so that there is a lacuna of chs. v, vi, vii; and f 364*b* is left blank.; and 33 anecdotes are missing from the last chapter, after f 404).

This apparently complete Ms. is defective in other respects also. In the body of the text, every now and then, a few anecdotes are found wanting, and the scribe has purposely omitted such anecdotes as contained the praiseworthy actions of the first three Caliphs (*e.g.* **A.** f 170*b*. I. xii. **667**; cf. **P.** f 151*a*), has changed the author's introduction to the chapter "On the Caliphs" Pt. I, v. f 62*a*, and has altered the pious formulas according to Shíʻa belief. The textual value of this Ms. is very uncertain, as proper names, quotations and Arabic and Persian verses are very inaccurately transcribed. The present writer, through the admirable generosity of Prof. Browne, was enabled to work upon this Ms. for the last four years and has established the correct number and order of the anecdotes after comparing it with the 14th century Mss. according to the *Table of Contents*. (Anecdotes missing from this Ms. are marked with an asterisk on the margin of this Ms.).

21. Q. = [Fraser 125, Bodl. Lib., Oxford][3]). Folios 731; $12^1/_2$ by $7^3/_8$ inches; 23 lines; clear and distinct Nastaʻlíq; dated 1061 A. H. = 1651 A. D.; written in Burhánpúr, India. Contents: Pt. I, begins on f 8*a*; Pt. II, on f 384*a*; Pt. III, on f 505*a*; Pt. IV, on f 612*b*. This is the twelfth

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1) Probably of Niyástar, a fortress between Káshán and Qumm, see *Y. M. B.* Vol. IV, p. 854.

2) See his article "The Persian Manuscripts of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler", in JRAS. (1917), pp. 657–94; IX. Anecdotes (No. 57).

3) See for other particulars about Q.–T., Cat. Bodl. Library, Oxford, Nos. 327–330, coll. 177–9.

complete Ms. among the ones described here, but like the following ones is mediocre.

22. R. = [Elliot 174, Bodl Lib., Oxford]. Folios 425; size $12\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 inches; 25 lines; Naskh; illuminated frontispiece; dated 1067 A.H. = 1657 A.D., Lahore. Contents Pt. I, begins on f 1*b*; Pt. II, on f 226*a*; Pt. III, on f 291*a*; Pt. IV, on f 357*a*. This is the thirteenth complete Ms., and bears the signature of Gore Ouseley on f 1*b* at the top of the decorations.

23. S. = [Elliot 170, Bodl.Lib., Oxford]. Folios 478; size 12 by 8 inches; 18 lines; Nasta'lîq; undated. Contents: Pt. II, begins on f 1*b*; Pt. III, on f 157*b*; Pt. IV, on f 310*a*.

24. T. = [Ouseley 361, Bodl Lib., Oxford]. Originally 294 folios, as is mentioned in Arabic numbers, but a few leaves are missing at present from the beginning and at the end: size $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches; 23 lines; Naskh; written on a dark brown paper; undated; but apparently of the 16th or 17th century A.D. This copy once belonged to Sir William Ouseley, as there are several notes in his hand on the fly-leaf. Among others one is important as it identifies his brother's (*viz.* Gore Ouseley's) Ms. which ultimately went over to the J. B. Elliott collection, and is described above as R., being the 22nd Ms. in this *Descriptive List.* This Ms. is fragmentary and contains a major portion of the first part. It begins from the middle of the first chapter of the first part and goes on to the earlier portion of ch. xxi, where in the middle of f 290*a* it abruptly starts with ch. xxv. It cannot be relied on for reference. (Cf. Ouseley's Cat. Mss. etc. (1831), p. 16, No. 532).

25. U. = [Crawford 81, John Rylands Lib., Manchester]. Folios 251; size 280 by 173 mm.; 24 lines; undated; rubrications; margins; "good Indian Naskhí of about 1650 A.D."; once in the Bland collection, No. 303, then transfered to the Crawford collection, No. 81, and now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Contents: (Pt. I completely missing); f 1*b*–f 134*a*, Pt. II. chs. i–xxv; f 134*b*–224*b*, Pt. III, chs. i–xxv; f 225*b*–251*a*, Pt. IV, chs. i–xi (defective). See *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, (1898), p. 124.

The present writer is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. H. Guppy, the Chief Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and of Dr. A. Mingana for the above description. Like the other 17th century group of Mss., it appears to contain an ordinary and unreliable text.

26. V. = [Quatremère 35, Munich [1]]. Folios 486; size 34.5 by 22 cm.; 27 lines; good Nasta'lîq; undated. Contents: Pt. I begins on f 3; Pt. II, on f 252*b*; Pt. III, on f 332*b*; Pt. IV, on f 410*b*. This is a complete but modern and mediocre Ms.

27. W. = Quatremère 53, Munich]. Folios 345; size 27 by 15 cm,; 19 lines; good Nasta'lîq; undated; contents: Pts. II–IV. This Ms. is similar to the one above-mentioned.

28. X. = [Naaman's Ms.], Prof. Browne, Cambridge. Folios 396; Nasta'lîq; undated; probably written in Turkey about the 18th century; bought by Prof. Browne from Naaman; contents: Pt. I only. This Ms. is modern and the text is very unreliable.

29. Y. = [Supplément Persan 96, Bib. Nat., Paris [2]]. This is an unfinished, incomplete and undated Ms. written in beautiful small Nasta'lîq, probably in the 17th or 18th century A.D.. It contains the first 15 chapters of Pt. I, and other folios are left blank. The text as far as it goes is fairly correct.

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[1]) See for other particulars about V. and W., Cat. "Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen" by J. Aumer, (1866), No. 180, pp. 56–7.

[2]) This Ms. and the next one are not catalogued as yet, but they are simply registered in the hand-written "Cat. du Supplément persan", Vol. I, p. 96.

30. Z. = Supplement Persan 97, Bib Nat., Paris].

Folios 543; size 30 by 20 cm.; bad Nastaʿlíq, rubrications; bought in Lakhnaw by some Frenchman about 1771 A.D.; apparently it is an 18th century Ms., transcribed in India; contents: Pt. I, chs. i–xxv. The text is extremely incorrect.

31. Pet. 1. = [Asia. Muz. 581 *aa*], Petrograd.

Then the fourth Petrograd Ms. is in the Asiatic Museum. It is dated 1251 A.H. = 1835/6 A.D. and contains only the first part which covers 369 folios. This is a very late and unreliable Ms., as Prof. Barthold himself remarks in his article on the Ṣaffárids, referred to above on p. 119, *ll.* 6–9.

32. Pet. 2. = [Asia Muz. 581 *aa*-], Petrograd.

There is another Ms. in the same Museum, which is also dated 1261 A.H. = 1845 A.D. It contains 477 folios which comprise all the four parts.

33. Pet. 3. = [Asia. Muz. 581 *aa*--], Petrograd.

Yet another undated Ms. of 209 folios containing only the third part is also preserved in the same Museum.

34. Pet. 4. = [Imp. Sank. Univ. -], Petrograd.

An abridged and valueless Ms. is preserved in the University Library of Petrograd. **Pet. 1.–Pet. 4.** are very modern Mss., hence deserve very little consideration.

35. Núr. 1. = [Núr-i-ʿUthmániyya 3272, Constantinople] [1].

No description of this Ms. is available at present. Probably it is the same Ms. which Flügel has mentioned (*H. Khalfa* Vol VII, p. 286, No. 1242) in his list of the Núr-i-ʿUthmániyya Library. It is now numbered 3272 in the Catalogue of the same Library, where Jamálu'd-Dín [2]) Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí is mentioned as the author. Probably this Ms. is responsible for the mistake of Flügel and other orientalists about the title of the author.

36. Núr. 2. = [Nur-i-ʿUthmániyya 3273, Constantinople].

In the same library are preserved the abridged version of the *Jawámi*ᶜ by Muḥammad [3]) b. Asʿad at-Tustarí al-Ḥanafí (No. 3273), and two unidentified Turkish versions (Nos. 3232 and 3274). All these Ms. require a thorough investigation in order to determine their textual value.

37. (*Unknown*)

This Ms. contains Pt. I only with miniatures. It was brought over "from the East" for sale; Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín has seen it in Paris, and about 1922 or 1923 A.D. it was offered by Messrs. Luzac & Co. of London to Prof. E. G. Browne for £ 50 and sent to Cambridge, where the present writer has seen it, but unfortunately could not examine it closely. It appeared to be a 16th or 17th century A.D. Ms.. It is not known when and where it was sold, and in whose possession it remains at the present date. This Ms. like **H bis** is interesting for the paintings which it contains.

Mss. of the pseudo-*Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*

During the investigation of the various Mss. of the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát* of al-ʿAwfí, a number of other works of a slightly different but deceptive title have come to the notice of the present writer. They are known as *Jámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*, a title with which the *Jawámi*ᶜ of al-ʿAwfí has been erroneously designated by some later authors. In the first place the translation of *Faraj baʿd ash-Shidda* by Ḥusayn b. Asʿad, discussed previously, has been designated briefly by some writers as *Jámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*. Secondly there exist a few other later works of fictitious tales differing in their contents, but

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1) See the *Daftar-i-Kutub-Khána-i-Núr-i-ʿUthmániyya* (Stambúl, 1303 A.H.) pp. 184, 186, Nos. 3232; 3272–4. 2) See above, p. 4, *ll.* 12–22.

3) See above, p. 31, *ll.* 19–20; also *H. T. G.* (facs.) p. 811, where this Tustarí is mentioned as a contemporary of the (Mongol Íl Khán) Sultan Úljáytú (reigned 1305–16 A.D).

all of them known as *Jámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát.* Two Mss. containing tales of this kind are described by Ethé in the India Office Cat. No. 797–8. Some of these tales are stated to have been borrowed from the *Jawámiʿ* of ʿAwfí, but they have very little resemblance to it. Another Ms. of a similar nature is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, see W. Ivanow, Cat. Pers. Mss. No. 301. Yet another 5 work containing tales of unhistorical nature, namely, the "Story of Ashraf Khán the king of Khurásán", is noticed by Dorn in the "Cat. des Manuscrits et Xylographes Orientaux de la Bib. Imp. Publique de St. Pétersbourg p. 410, No. CDLXXII. Another copy of the same work is mentioned in the "Cat. of several hundred Manuscript Works in various Oriental Languages, collected by Sir W. Ouseley", p. 13, Nos. 442 and 443. 10 Another complete work in four volumes [1]), similar to the India Office Mss. (cf. the titles of the tales), is preserved in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society's Library; see a Cat. of Mss. etc. published in JRAS, XXIV, (1892) pp. 543–4, Nos. 334–7. All these works have very little in common with the *Jawámiʿ* of ʿAwfí.

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[1]) William H. Morley in his manuscript "Cat. of the Mss. etc. (1858)" No. 258, p. 155, after giving short descriptions of these volumes, writes about the fourth one: "This volume contains a curious connected collection of tales, which is thus mentioned in a very copious preface. 'This book is named the Sindbád' [f 2*a*]". In fact f 1*a*–f 117*b* of this Ms. contain Bahá'u'd-Dín aẓ-Ẓahírí's version of the *Sindbád-náma* and can be utilised as a second copy to [Or. 255, Br. Mus.], see above, Notice No. (25)*a*, pp. 72–4.

This and the next chapter have been revised by Mr. C. A. Storey, who has obliged the present writer with valuable suggestions.

CHAPTER V.

A *COMPARATIVE INDEX* OF THE HUNDRED CHAPTERS OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT* BASED ON THE 14TH CENTURY A.D. MSS.

WITH A *LIST OF THE* 100 *CHAPTER-HEADINGS* IN THE ORIGINAL, AND A *KEY TO THE COMPARATIVE INDEX.*

(pp. 125–135).

[1]) (Footnote to p. 127) A., *i.e.* Ancien Fonds Persan 75, does not contain a complete list of the hundred chapter-headings; probably it formed part of the original transcript, which is missing, and the later hand that supplied the preceding General Preface has given on f 21 *b* thirteen chapter-headings only (Nos. ٨٦–٩٧ and ١٠٠); hence G., *i.e.* Suppl. Persan 906, which contains a complete list of the 100 chapter-headings on f 3 *b*–f 5 *a*, has been adopted as the basis of the text of this list; and B, *i.e.* Suppl. Persan 95, which also contains a similar complete list of 100 chapters (f 4 *a*–f 5 *b*), has also been used side by side. The wordings of the chapter-headings in B and G almost correspond in essentials, hence no variants are given. Most of the words are vocalised in both the Mss. for ornamental purposes, but here a few necessary diacritical marks are added and spellings are modernised. In the body of the text these headings are expanded by the author. In the accompanying *Comparative Index* they have been very much shortened for the sake of conciseness in reference, as is explained in the *Key to the Index* (see below, p. 131).

[فهرستِ ابوابِ جوامع الحكايات و لوامع الرّوايات][1]

G. f 3*b*=B. f 4*a*. قسم اوّل [از کتاب جوامع الحكايات و لوامع الرّوايات]

در معرفتِ آفریدگار تعالی و تقدّس و ذکر انبیاء و اولیاء و تواریخ و مآثرِ ملوك

مشتمل بر بیست و پنج باب

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(۱) باب اوّل از قسم اوّل	در معرفتِ آفریدگار تعالی و تقدّس
(۲) باب دوّم از قسم اوّل	در معجزاتِ انبياء عليهم السّلام
(۳) باب سوّم از قسم اوّل	در کراماتِ اولياء رضوان الله عنهم
(٤) باب چهارم از قسم اوّل	در تواریخِ ملوكِ عجم و دولتِ ایشان
(٥) باب پنجم از قسم اوّل	در تاریخِ خلفاء و مآثرِ ایشان
(٦) باب ششم از قسم اوّل	در فضیلتِ عدل
(۷) باب هفتم از قسم اوّل	در سیرِ ملوك و اخلاقِ ایشان
(۸) باب هشتم از قسم اوّل	در لطایفِ کلماتِ ملوك و سلاطين
(۹) باب نهم از قسم اوّل	در سیاستِ پادشاهان
(۱۰) باب دهم از قسم اوّل	در توقیعاتِ پادشاهان
(۱۱) باب یازدهم از قسم اوّل	در فراستِ اربابِ کیاست
(۱۲) باب دوازدهم از قسم اوّل	در فوایدِ رایهای صایب
(۱۳) باب سیزدهم از قسم اوّل	در مکرهائی که اربابِ رأی کرده اند
(١٤) باب چهاردهم از قسم اوّل	در سیرِ وزراء و پرداختِ معاملات
(١٥) باب پانزدهم از قسم اوّل	در مواعظِ علماء و زهّاد
(١٦) باب شانزدهم از قسم اوّل	در جوابهای شافی که خداوندانِ عقل گفته اند
(۱۷) باب هفدهم از قسم اوّل	در لطایفِ حکایاتِ قضاة و علماء و اشاراتِ ایشان
(۱۸) باب هژدهم از قسم اوّل	در نوادرِ دبیران و حکایاتِ ایشان
(۱۹) باب نوزدهم از قسم اوّل	در نوادرِ ندیمان و حکایاتِ ایشان
(۲۰) باب بیستم از قسم اوّل	در حکایاتِ طبیبان و غیره
(۲۱) باب بیست و یکم از قسم اوّل	در لطایفِ احکامِ معبّران
(۲۲) باب بیست و دوم از قسم اوّل	در لطایفِ حکایاتِ منجّمان
(۲۳) باب بیست وسوم از قسم اوّل	در حکایاتِ شعراء و شعرهائیکه در بدیهه گفته اند
(٢٤) باب بیست وچهارم از قسم اوّل	در حکایاتِ مغنّیان
(٢٥) باب بیست وپنجم از قسم اوّل	در لطایفِ حکایاتِ زیرکانِ تیز فهم و ذکرِ ایشان

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[1]) See the opposite page (126).

[فهرستِ ابوابِ جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الرّوایات]

قسم دوّم از کتابِ جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الرّوایات

G. f 4a = B. f 4b.

در بیانِ اخلاقِ حمیده و سیرِ مرضیه
مشتمل بر بیست و پنج باب

[فهرستِ ابوابِ جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الرّوایات]

G. f 4b = B. f 5a.

قسم سوّم از کتابِ جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الرّوایات

در بیان اخلاق مذمومه

مشتمل بر بیست وپنج باب

[فهرستِ ابوابِ جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الرّوایات] [1]

G. f 5a=B. f 5b. قسم چهارم از کتابِ جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الرّوایات

در بیانِ احوالِ صادر و عجایبِ بحار [و] بلاد و طبایع حیوانات

مشتمل بر بیست و پنج باب

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(٧٦) باب اوّل از قسم چهارم — در فوایدِ خدمتِ ملوك

(٧٧) باب دوّم از قسم چهارم — در عوایدِ خدمتِ پادشاهان

(٧٨) باب سوّم از قسم چهارم — در معنی خوف و رجا

(٧٩) باب چهارم از قسم چهارم — در فضیلتِ تأثیرِ دعا

(٨٠) باب پنجم از قسم چهارم — در دعواتِ مأثوره [که]یاد کرده شود

(٨١) باب ششم از قسم چهارم — در عجایبِ فالها و تأثیر آن

(٨٢) باب هفتم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ جماعتی که بورطهٔ هلاك درماندند وخلاص یافتند

(٨٣) باب هشتم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ جماعتی که از دستِ دزدان خلاص یافتند

(٨٤) باب نهم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ جماعتی که از چنگ سباع خلاص یافتند

(٨٥) باب دهم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ کسانیکه بورطهٔ عشق در ماندند وبمراد نرسیدند

(٨٦) باب یازدهم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ جماعتیکه عاشق شدند وبمراد رسیدند

(٨٧) باب دوازدهم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ جماعتیکه بورطهٔ هلاك افتادند وخلاص یافتند

(٨٨) باب سیزدهم از قسم چهارم — در عجایبِ قضا و قدر [و موافقت بخت و مخالفت آن]

(٨٩) باب چهاردهم از قسم چهارم — در غرایبِ خلقت و نوادرِ [بِنْيَت]

(٩٠) باب پانجدهم از قسم چهارم — در اعمارِ حیوانات و ذکرِ طول و عرض آن

(٩١) باب شانزدهم از قسم چهارم — در بیانِ مسالك و ممالك و ذکر صُروم و جُروم

(٩٢) باب هفدهم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ روم و حبشه و هند

(٩٣) باب هژدهم از قسم چهارم — در غرایبِ بناهای عجایب

(٩٤) باب نوزدهم از قسم چهارم — در عجایبِ طلسمات

(٩٥) باب بیستم از قسم چهارم — در خواصِّ اشیا [و عجایبِ تاثیرِ ایشان]

(٩٦) باب بیست و یکم از قسم چهارم — در طبایعِ بهایم و وحوش

(٩٧) باب بیست و دوم از قسم چهارم — در ذکر سباعِ ضاری

(٩٨) باب بیست و سوم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ حیواناتِ غریب

(٩٩) باب بیست و چهارم از قسم چهارم — در ذکرِ غرایبِ طیور

(١٠٠) باب بیست و پنجم از قسم چهارم — در طَرَفی از ظَرْف و مُلَح و هَزْل

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[1] Cf. Flugel, Cat. Wien, Band I, pp. 411—2, where a complete list of these headings is also given.

KEY TO THE COMPARATIVE INDEX.

A., B., C., D., G. are the Mss. that represent in chronological order the extant portions of the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát* in the oldest 14th century A. D. texts, upon which the accompanying *Index* is based. The underlined letter indicates the Ms. used as the basis of the text for that particular Part. A. and D. being the basis of a projected text of Pt. I and II—IV respectively, other Mss. are subordinated, and corresponding folio numbers of the beginning of each chapter are arranged in vertical columns underneath the letter of the alphabet representing the Ms.

Grand Chapter Numeral: The entire work consists originally of four parts or *Qisms*, each divided into 25 chapters or *Bábs*; for standardising this *Index* and the *Table of Contents* it is regarded as a single whole divided into 100 chapters, each of which is denoted by a grand chapter numeral (*e.g.* LXVI would signify the 16th chapter in Pt. III), although such numeration is not given by the author.

Serial Numbers of Anecdotes: In order to standardise the reference to a particular anecdote occuring in any of the hundred chapters of the *Jawámiʿ*, this serial number of anecdotes is maintained throughout the entire work, irrespective of the division of the work into parts and chapters. Nearly 20 Mss. were utilised for this purpose, but that Ms. alone is recognised for the order of succession and numbers of the anecdotes, which forms the basis of the text for that Part. Thus for example A., the oldest Ms., and the basis of the text for Pt. I, contains about 175 additional anecdotes: although some of these occur in other parts with slight variation, yet, for the sake of preserving a full and complete text and for the convenience of reference to each individual Ms., these anecdotes are included in the grand serial number, and the recurring anecdotes are pointed out in the *Table of Contents*.

Number of Anecdotes in each Chapter: This is the total number of anecdotes in each separate chapter according to the Ms. used as the basis for that particular chapter.

Chapter Number: This is the ordinary divisional number into which each Part is divided; it is denoted by small Roman numerals. In the present work the grand chapter numeral is not referred to, but only this ordinary chapter-number, which is always preceded by the number of the part also. For method of reference to a particular anecdote, see above, p. 3, *n.* 7.

Short Headings of the Chapters:[1]) These are the abbreviated and translated headings of the hundred chapters, which represent essentially the subject-wise division adopted by the author and almost correspond with the list of chapters given in any old and authentic Ms. of the *Jawámiʿ*.

A short Table of Anecdotes in the *Jawámiʿ*.

Part	Grand Chapter Numbers.	No. of Anecs. in each Part.	Grand Serial Nos. of Anecs.
I	I—XXV	1182	1—1182
II	XXVI—L	358	1183—1540
III	LI—LXXV	249	1541—1789
IV	LXXVI—C	324	1790—2113

[1]) Only abbreviations of these are used in the accompanying *Comparative Index*.

A *Comparative Index* of the first twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century A. D. Mss. of the *Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*.

Part I.

On the Knowledge of the Creator, Miracles of the Prophets and Saints, History of the Kings and Caliphs, and biographies of religious and secular worthies.

	A. [1] fol.	B. [2] fol.	C. [3] fol.	G. [4] fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral	Serial Nos. of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch	Ch No.	Short Headings of the Chapters
	19*b*	1*b*	—	1*b*					Preface. List of 100 chapters.
1	21*b*	6*a*	—	5*b*	I	1—38	38	i	Knowledge of the Creator.
2	28*a*	11*a*	—	10*a*	II	39—78	40	ii	Miracles of the Prophets.
3	38*b*	18*b*	—	18*b*	III	79—118	40	iii	Anecdotes about Saints.
4	46*b*	24*b*	99*a*	26*a*	IV	119—195	77	iv	Ancient Kings of Persia and Rúm.
5	82*a*	49*b*	122*b*	52*a*	V	196—362	167	v	History of the Caliphs.
6	118*b*	70*b*	161*b*	76*a*	VI	363—400	38	vi	Justice and Just Kings.
7	127*a*	76*a*	171*b*	83*a*	VII	401—443	43	vii	Memorable Traits of Righteous Kings.
8	135*b*	80*b*	181*a*	90*a*	VIII	444—482	39	viii	Witty sayings of Kings.
9	140*a*	83*a*	186*b*	94*a*	IX	483—522	40	ix	On the Punitive System of Kings.
10	145*b*	87*a*	193*a*	98*b*	X	523—564	42	x	Answers to Petitions and Mandates.
11	151*b*	90*a*	198*b*-204*b*	102*a*	XI	565—612	48	xi	On the Sagacity of Eminent Persons.
12	160*a*	96*b*	205*a*, 2*a*	109*b*	XII	613—675	63	xii	Sound Judgments enhancing the Success of Kings.
13	174*a*	108*a*	16*b*	122*b*	XIII	676—735	54 + 6	xiii	Wiles and Stratagems in Statecraft.
14	187*a*	117*b*	31*b*	134*b*	XIV	736—787	43 + 9	xiv	Efficient Wazirs and their Diplomacy.
15	196*b*	123*a*	40*b*	141*a*	XV	788—837	47 + 3	xv	Advice of Sages and Holy Men to Rulers.
16	202*a*	127*a*	47*a*	146*b*	XVI	838—920	71 + 12	xvi	Pithy and Judicious Answers.
17	209*a*	131*b*	54*a*	151*b*	XVII	921—986	40 + 26	xvii	Anecdotes about Eminent Qáḏhís.
18	215*b*	135*b*	59*b*	155*b*	XVIII	987—1023	14 + 23	xviii	Anecdotes about Secretaries.
19	224*b*	139*a*	64*b*	159*b*	XIX	1024—1040	6 + 11	xix	Anecdotes about Favourites and Courtiers.
20	228*b*	140*b*	66*b*	161*b*	XX	1041—1055	9 + 6	xx	Physicians and Wonderful Cures.
21	230*b*	141*b*	68*a*	162*b*	XXI	1056—1089	17 + 17	xxi	Anecdotes about Oneiromancers.
22	237*a*	143*b*	70*a*	165*a*	XXII	1090—1106	8 + 9	xxii	Astrologers and Wonderful Predictions.
23	239*b*	144*b*	72*a*	166*b*	XXIII	1107—1125	7 + 12	xxiii	Anecdotes about Poets, and Extempore Verses.
24	242*b*	145*b*	73*b*	168*a*	XXIV	1126—1140	3 + 12	xxiv	Musicians and Influence of Music.
25	246*b*	146*b*	74*b*	169*a*	XXV	1141—1182	13 + 29	xxv	Wits and Geniuses.
Pt. I ends	255*b*	149*a*	79*b*	172*b*			Add. 175		

+ indicates the number of Additional Anecdotes in A. (See above, pp. 112–3).

[1] A. = Ancien Fonds Persan 75, (the oldest Ms.) Bib. Nat. Paris, as the basis of the text for Part I.

[2] B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.

[3] C. = Or. 6855, Br. Mus., London.

[4] G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

A *Comparative Index* of the second twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century A. D. Mss. of the *Jawámi u'l-Ḥikáyát.*

Part II.

On the Excellence of Virtues, Praiseworthy Qualities, and Estimable Traits in Human Nature.

	B.[1] fol.	C.[2] fol.	D[3] fol.	G.[4] fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral.	Serial Nos of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch	Ch. No.	Short Headings of the Chapters
									On the Excellence of
1	149*b*	79*b*	—	173*b*	XXVI	1183—1193	11	i	Modesty.
2	151*a*	82*a*	97*a*	175*a*	XXVII	1194—1209	16	ii	Humility.
3	152*b*	84*a*	99*b*	177*a*	XXVIII	1210—1228	19	iii	Forgiveness.
4	155*a*	88*b*	105*a*	180*a*	XXIX	1229—1279	51	iv	Clemency.
5	160*b*	97*a*	116*a*	186*b*	XXX	1280—1296	17	v	Magnanimity.
6	162*a*	206*b*	119*a*	189*a*	XXXI	1297—1317	21	vi	Culture and Good Manners.
7	164*a*	211*a*	124*a*	192*a*	XXXII	1318—1323	6	vii	Mercifulness.
8	165*b*	213*a*	126*b*	193*b*	XXXIII	1324—1330	7	viii	Trust in God.
9	166*b*	215*a*	128*b*	195*a*	XXXIV	1331—1345	15	ix	Generosity.
10	167*b*	217*a*	130*b*	196*b*	XXXV	1346—1353	8	x	Benevolence and Graciousness.
11	169*b*	220*a*	134*a*	198*b*	XXXVI	1354—1380	27	xi	Hospitality.
12	171*b*	224*a*	139*a*	201*b*	XXXVII	1381—1393	13	xii	Courage.
13	173*a*	226*b*	142*a*	203*b*	XXXVIII	1394—1403	10	xiii	Patience.
14	175*a*	229*b*	145*a*	205*b*	XXXIX	1404—1411	8	xiv	Gratitude.
15	176*a*	231*b*	147*b*	207*a*	XL	1412—1428	17	xv	Prudence and Vigilance.
16	179*a*	236*a*	152*b*	210*a*	XLI	1429—1442	14	xvi	Asceticism and Piety.
17	180*b*	240*b*	157*a*	213*a*	XLII	1443—1453	11	xvii	Endeavour and Persistency.
18	182*a*	243*b*	161*a*	215*a*	XLIII	1454—1465	12	xviii	Propriety of Silence and Speech.
19	184*a*	246*b*	164*b*	217*a*	XLIV	1466—1474	9	xix	Fidelity and Good Faith.
20	185*b*	250*a*	168*b*	219*b*	XLV	1475—1478	4	xx	Charity towards Kith and Kin.
21	186*b*	252*a*	171*a*	220*b*	XLVI	1479—1488	10	xxi	Secrecy and Keeping Counsel.
22	188*b*	255*a*	174*b*	223*a*	XLVII	1489—1499	11	xxii	Honesty.
23	190*b*	259*a*	179*a*	225*b*	XLVIII	1500—1519	20	xxiii	Grace and Nobility of Character.
24	194*a*	264*b*	185*b*	229*b*	XLIX	1520—1527	8	xxiv	Firmness of Resolution.
25	195*b*	267*a*	188*b*	231*a*	L	1528—1540	13	xxv	Consultation and Absolute Judgment.
Pt. II ends.	202*a*	271*a*	193*a*	234*a*					

[1]) B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.
[2]) C. = Or. 6855. Br. Mus., London.
[3]) D. = Or. 2676. Br. Mus., as the basis of the text for Part II.
[4]) G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

A *Comparative Index* of the third twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century A. D. Mss. of the *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát.*

Part III.

On the Despicability of Vices: Blamable Qualities, and Contemptible Traits in Human Nature.

	B.[1] fol.	C.[2] fol.	D.[3] fol.	G.[4] fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral.	Serial Nos. of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch	Ch. No.	Short Headings of the Chapters.
1	202*b*	271*b*	193*b*	234*b*	LI	1541—1552	12	i	Diversity in Temperament.
2	204*b*	274*a*	196*b*	236*b*	LII	1553—1559	7	ii	Rancour and Envy.
3	206*a*	277*a*	199*b*	238*b*	LIII	1560—1570	11	iii	Avarice and Greedy Persons.
4	207*b*	279*a*	202*b*	240*a*	LIV	1571—1583	13	iv	Covetousness.
5	198*a* 208*b*	281*b*	205*b*	242*a*	LV	1584—1592	9	v	Strange Anecdotes about Robbers.
6	200*a*	284*b*	209*b*	244*a*	LVI	1593—1599	7	vi	Anecdotes of Beggars.
7	209*a*	287*b*	213*b*	246*b*	LVII	1600—1618	19	vii	Falsehood versus Truth.
8	211*b*	291*a*	218*b*	248*b*	LVIII	1619—1627	9	viii	Pseudo-Prophets.
9	214*a*	295*b*	224*a*	252*a*	LIX	1628—1640	13	ix	Miserliness.
10	215*b*	297*b*	228*b*	254*a*	LX	1641 —1649	9	x	Perjury, and breaking Promises.
11	217*b*	300*b*	232*b*	256*b*	LXI	1650—1666	17	xi	Ignorance.
12	219*b*	303*a*	236*a*	258*b*	LXII	1667—1681	15	xii	Tyranny, and Unjust Rulers.
13	221*a*	306*a*	240*a*	261*a*	LXIII	1682—1688	7	xiii	Hardheartedness and the contrary.
14	223*a*	308*a*	243*b*	263*b*	LXIV	1689—1696	8	xiv	Mean and Wretched Creatures.
15	224*b*	310*b*	247*b*	265*b*	LXV	1697—1702	6	xv	Extravagance and Prodigality.
16	226*a*	313*a*	250*b*	267*b*	LXVI	1703—1706	4	xvi	Dishonesty and Misappropriation.
17	227*a*	315*a*	253*a*	268*b*	LXVII	1707—1711	5	xvii	Licentiousness and Sexual Abuse.
18	228*b*	317*b*	256*b*	270*b*	LXVIII	1712—1720	9	xviii	Ingratitude.
19	230*b*	321*a*	261*a*	273*b*	LXIX	1721—1729	9	xix	Calumny and Slander.
20	231*b*	323*b*	264*a*	275*a*	LXX	1730—1735	6	xx	Hastiness and the contrary.
21	233*b*	327*a*	268*b*	277*b*	LXXI	1736—1741	6	xxi	Irreligious and Unprincipled Persons.
22	235*b*	330*b*	273*a*	280*a*	LXXII	1742—1758	17	xxii	Clever and Intellectual Women.
23	237*a*	333*a*	276*b*	282*a*	LXXIII	1759—1773	15	xxiii	Chaste and Virtuous Women.
24	239*b*	336*b*	280*b*	284*b*	LXXIV	1774—1782	9	xxiv	Unchaste and Impious Women.
25	241*b*	340*b*	285*b*	287*b*	LXXV	1783—1789	7	xxv	Wiles of Women.
Pt.III ends.	243*b*	344*a*	290*a*	290*a*					

1) **B.** = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.
2) **C.** = Or. 6855, Br. Mus., London.
3) **D.** = Or. 2676, Br. Mus., as the basis of the text for Part III.
4) **G.** = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

A *Comparative Index* of the fourth twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century A. D. Mss. of the *Jawámiʿuʾl-Ḥikáyát.*

Part IV.

On the Description of Strange Occurrences, the Wonders of Seas and Lands, the Temperament of Animals, and the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.

	B.[1] fol.	C.[2] fol.	D.[3] fol.	G.[4] fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral.	Serial Nos. of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch.	Ch. No.	Short Headings of the Chapters.
1	244*a*	344*b*	4*b*	290*b*	LXXVI	1790—1798	9	i	Advantages of the Service of Kings.
2	245*a*	346*b*	7*a*	292*b*	LXXVII	1799—1808	10	ii	Drawbacks of the Service of Kings.
3	246*b*	348*b*	9*b*	294*a*	LXXVIII	1809—1816	8	iii	On Fear and Hope.
4	248*a*	351*b*	12*b*	296*b*	LXXIX	1817—1826	10	iv	Efficacy of Prayer.
5	249*b*	359*a*	15*b*	298*b*	LXXX	1827—1838	12	v	Traditional and Memorable formulas of Prayer.
6	251*a*	356*b*	18*b*	301*a*	LXXXI	1839—1847	9	vi	Propitious Omens and Strange Occurrences.
7	253*a*	354*b*	21*b*	303*b*	LXXXII	1848—1859	12	vii	Escapes from the Whirlpool of Destruction.
8	255*b*	364*a*	25*b*	307*b*	LXXXIII	1860—1865	6	viii	Escapes from Brigands.
9	257*a*	366*b*	28*b*	309*b*	LXXXIV	1866—1884	19	ix	Escapes from Wild Beasts.
10	260*a*	371*b*	34*a*	313*b*	LXXXV	1885—1898	14	x	People who succumbed through Love.
11	270*a*	374*b*	37*b*	316*b*	LXXXVI	1899—1911	13	xi	People who succeeded through Love.
12	263*a*	384*b*	49*b*	324*a*	LXXXVII	1912—1920	9	xii	Escapes from the Abyss of Perdition.
13	265*b*	388*b*	54*b*	328*a*	LXXXVIII	1921—1934	14	xiii	Wonders of Destiny.
14	268*a*	392*a*	59*a*	331*a*	LXXXIX	1935—1944	10	xiv	Human Monstrosities.
15	271*a*	395*a*	61*b*	333*a*	XC	1945—1962	18	xv	Longevity in Animals.
16	272*b*	396*b*	64*b*	335*b*	XCI	1963—1967	5	xvi	Cosmography: Seven Climes, etc.
17	274*b*	394*b* Ms.	68*a*	338*a*	XCII	1968—1976	9	xvii	Byzantines, Arabs, Indians, Abyssinians, and the People of Jazáʾir.
18	276*a*	breaks	71*a*	340*a*	XCIII	1977—1986	10	xviii	Remarkable Monuments.
19	278*a*	off on	74*b*	342*b*	XCIV	1987—1995	9	xix	Strange Talismans.
20	279*a*	f 397*b*	77*b*	344*b*	XCV	1996—2008	13	xx	Curious Properties of Natural Objects.
21	280*b*		80*b*	347*a*	XCVI	2009—2033	25	xxi	Peculiarities of Strange Animals.
22	282*b*		85*b*	350*b*	XCVII	2034—2053	20	xxii	Wild and Ferocious Animals.
23	284*b*		90*b*	354*a*	XCVIII	2054—2066	13	xxiii	Strange and Rare Animals.
24	285*b*		93*a*	355*b*	XCIX	2067—2074	8	xxiv	Curious Birds and their Peculiarities.
25	287*b*		96*a*	358*a*	C	2075—2113	39	xxv	Humorous pieces and Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.
Pt. IV ends	289*b*		96*b*	358*b*	Grand total 2113 Anecs.				

1) B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.
2) C. = Or. 6855. Br. Mus., London.
3) D. = Or. 2676. Br. Mus., as the basis of the text for Part IV.
4) G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

CHAPTER VI.

A COMPLETE TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT*

PARTS I, II, III AND IV RESPECTIVELY

(EACH PART DIVIDED INTO 25 CHAPTERS, THUS COMPRISING 100 CHAPTERS)

CONSISTING OF 2113 ANECDOTES.

SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS ADOPTED IN THE ACCOMPANYING *TABLE OF CONTENTS.*

PART . . . . CHAPTER . . . . HEADING.

A.	G.	SERIAL	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.

Part: As the whole work is divided into four parts and further subdivided into 25 chapters, at the beginning of the *Table of Contents* of each part, its number and general heading are given.

Chapter: There is a double numeration of the chapters, firstly, the number of the chapter in each part and, secondly, the corresponding equivalent number of the chapter in the entire work. (See also, above, p. 131, *Key to the Comparative Index*).

Heading: A list of the hundred chapter-headings is given in the original (see above, pp. 127—30) and in an abbreviated form (see above, pp. 132—5), but in most cases the author enlarges these headings at the actual commencement of the chapters; therefore, duly observing uniformity with the headings in the *Comparative Index*, these are translated in full.

A.-G.; Serial (see above, *Key to the Comparative Index*).

Titles of the Anecdotes: In order to bring out the main purport of every anecdote in its proper historical connection, and also keeping in view the subject-wise arrangement of the author, which is very loose and arbitrary, a suitable, descriptive and synoptical title is given to each anecdote; and for the sake of clearness, brevity and elegance had to be sacrificed. In most cases proper names are verified and corrected, dates are supplied, short remarks about sources and events are added and comparative references are given in brackets; so that this *Table* might serve as a tentative historical and biographical index to the whole of the *Jawámiʿ*.

For abbreviations used in this *Table* and elsewhere, see the *List of Abbreviations* given below.

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát.

Part I (comprising 25 chapters, I—XXV):

On the Knowledge of the Creator, Miracles of the Prophets and Saints, History and Biography of the Ancient Kings of Persia, and on the Accounts of the Caliphs and Religious and other Secular Worthies.

Part I, Chapter I: On the Knowledge of the Creator.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 19*b*	f 1*b*		General Preface to the whole work containing doxology, introduction, dedication, contemporary events, object of the compilation and the headings of the hundred chapters.
f 21*b*	f 5*b*		Introduction to the first chapter containing proofs on the existence of the Supreme Being and arguments against heretics and disbelievers.
f 22*a*	"	1	The Origin of Idolatry: How, after the Ascension of the prophet Idrís, the Devil tempted the people to worship his own image.
"	"	2	The evil designs of Namrúd; the birth of the prophet Ibráhím.
f 22*b*	f 6*a*	3	Ibráhím challenges Namrúd, the latter's sophistry causes his own ruin and death.
"	"	4	Pharaoh chastised by Iblís for his false pretensions as a God.
"	"	5	Pharaoh's believing wife Ásiya reproaches him for his blasphemy.
"	"	6	The Imám Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣádiq inculcates faith in God and converts a heretic.
"	"	7	Conversion of ʿImrán ibnu'l-Ḥuṣayn at the hands of the Prophet Muḥammad. (The *Adyánu'l-ʿArab* as the source, see above, p. 39).
f 23*a*	"	8	The Imám Abú Ḥanífa baffles the Zindíq conspirators and converts them to Islám.
"	f 6*b*	9	The Imám Sháfiʿí astounds a believer in 'Nature' by proving that, natural objects being the same, properties are imparted to them by God, *e.g.* his illustration of the leaf of the raspberry plant — its uses, effects and results.
"	"	10	Argument of the Imám Sháfiʿí against the Zindíqs as to whether sex can be determined by the will of the parents.
"	"	11	The Creator's existence proved by the Imám Jaʿfar from the formation of an egg.
"	"	12	The Imám Málik illustrates before the Caliph Hárún the manifestation of the Omnipotence of the Creator in the Unity and Diversity observable in mankind.
"	"	13	The Arab and the Zindíq: the famous lines about the Design and the Designer.
"	"	14	A Muslim physician's two illustrations to convince a Zindíq: the bee with its poisonous sting and sweet honey; and the myrobalan, as an aperitive in spite of its coolness and dryness.

Part I, Chapter I: On the Knowledge of the Creator (continued).

A	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 23*b*	f 6*b*	15	The Imám Ja^cfar aṣ-Ṣadiq proves the existence of the Creator through his own coming into existence.
"	"	16	The Caliph ᶜAlí's conception of the Creator as explained by himself.
"	"	17	How Dhu'n-Nún-i-Miṣrí knew the Creator through Himself.
"	f 7*a*	18	The falling leaf and the philosophical statement recorded on it.
"	"	19	A Zindíq king converted by his minister through the argument of the Design and the Designer.
f 24*a*	"	20	Jibra'íl's explanation to the Prophet of his contradictory answer of "No and Yes" about the setting sun.
"	"	21	The utility of gnats in the scheme of the universe as pointed out by the Imám Sháfiᶜí. (Anecdote repeated, cf. below, I. xvi. 894).
"	"	22	The three correct answers and one pertinent question of a Muslim divine imprisoned in Rúm, and the consequent conversion of the Christian monks.
f 24*b*	f 7*b*	23	ᶜAnbasa, moved by the piety and extreme faith in the justice of God of a condemned Khárijite, implores Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf ath-Thaqafí to spare the life of the victim. (Probably from Tanúkhi's *Faraj b'ad a'sh-Shidda*).
"	"	24	The Caliph Hishám b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik and the terrible fate of Ghaylan, the Muᶜtazilite.
"	"	25	Ibnu's-Sammák appears in vision and recounts his celestial reception in reward for his preaching the Unity of God.
"	"	26	The Caliph 'Abdu'llah Muḥammad Abú Jaᶜfar as-Saffáḥ's clever argument, and the discomfiture of a Dualist.
f 25*a*	f 8*a*	27	The wilful defiance of Bakht-Ázmáy, a proud king of Egypt, to the authority of God against the sound advice of his Wazír, his utter defeat at the hands of Salúḥ or Sabúkh (?) and his penitence.
f 25*b*	"	28	A drunken libertine's fatal punishment for his blasphemy.
"	f 8*b*	29	The withering of the hand of a blaspheming calligraphist. (The *Kitáb-i-Khalqu'l-Insán* as the source, see above, p. 66).
"	"	30	The marvellous story of the Jewish ascetic who cast a suspicion on the raising to life from decayed bones, the dry bone, the virgin who bears a child, and the illustration of the resurrection of the dead.
f 26*b*	f 9*a*	31	ᶜAmr b. Murra's sincere advice not to cavil at the "*Mutashábihát*" Verses in the *Qur'án*. (The *Tafsír* of Najmu'd-Dín ᶜUmar an-Nasafí as the source, see above, p. 65).
"	"	32	The Prophet Muḥammad and the two Jewish Rabbis who accept Islám. (The *Tafsír* of Ibnu'l-Kalbí as the source, see above, p. 39).
f 27*a*	"	33	The Caliph ᶜUmar and the Syrian Jews whose six puzzling questions were solved by the Caliph ᶜAlí.
"	f 9*b*	34	The conversion of Ṭalḥa by the Caliph Abú Bakr.
"	"	35	Thumáma b. Ashras's interpretation of the saying of the Prophet regarding the 'delivered' sect out of the seventy-two in Islám, and the Caliph al-Ma'mún's appreciation. (Anec. repeated, see below, II. xxiii. 1509).
f 27*b*	"	36	Jibrá'íl's appearance before the Prophet in the guise of an Arab and instruction as regards the four cardinal principles of Islám.
"	"	37	The Jew and the Zoroastrian — their beliefs and their deserts.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 28*a*	f 10*a*	38	Abíqas (Ibycus), the Greek "philosopher", killed by robbers, is avenged by cranes miraculously. (Cf. F. Schiller, 'die Kraniche des Ibykus'). The chapter ends with a eulogy upon his patron-wazír Abú Ḥámid Muḥammad b. Abí Saʿd al-Junaydí Qiwámu'd-Dín entitled the Niẓámu'l-Mulk and upon the ruling Sultan of Dihlí, Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish.
			Part I, Chapter II: On the Miracles of the Prophets.
ff 28	ff 10	39	Introduction to the chapter. The she-camel of Ṣáliḥ, the Prophet.
f 28*b*	f 10*b*	40	Ibráhím and Namrúd. (The story is told by Zayd b. Aslam in a different form.)
f 29*a*	"	41	Birds restored to life for Ibráhím.
"	f 11*a*	42	The nine miracles of Moses in Egypt.
"	f 11*b*	43	Moses and his cousin Qárún.
f 30*a*	"	44	David asks ten questions of Solomon.
"	f 12*a*	45	Two miracles wrought by Jesus: (1) a blind man and cripple found guilty; (2) provision of food at a feast.
"	"	46	Another miracle of Jesus; the fatal ingot of gold.
f 30*b*	"	47	Two dead persons raised to life by Jesus.
"	f 12*b*	48	Jesus sends two Apostles to Antioch at first and then the third.
f 31*b*	f 13*a*	49	The three kinds of the miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad.
"	"	50	Ṣayf b. Dhí-Yazan foretells the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad to ʿAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib.
"	"	51	Shápúr-i-Dhu'l-Aktáf and Quṣayy b. Kiláb, and the persecution of the Arabs.
f 32*a*	"	52	The excavation of the Well of Zamzam by ʿAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 71, 91—4).
f 32*b*	f 14*a*	53	ʿAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib's vow to sacrifice one of his sons. (*Kitábu'l-Magházi* as the source, see above, p. 100). (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 97—100).
f 33*a*	f 14*b*	54	The Prophet recognised in his seventh year by the monk Baḥírá. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 114—7).
f 33*b*	"	55	The quest of Salmán, the Persian, and his conversion at the hands of the Prophet. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 136—42).
f 34*a*	f 15*a*	56	Waraqa b. Nawfal's interpretation of the dream of Khadíja, and her marriage with the Prophet. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 119—21).
f 34*b*	f 15*b*	57	The light on ʿAbdu'llah's forehead discerned by a Jewish wise woman before his nuptials with Ámina. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 100—101).
"	"	58	The Prophet Muḥammad chosen to replace the Black Stone when the Kaʿba was under repair. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 122—3).
f 35*a*	"	59	Qayṭur? or Qunṭur? or Fanṭún? or Faṭún?, the Jewish tyrant. (Cf. *Kitábu'l-Maḥásin wa'l-Aḏḏád* ed. Van Vloten pp. 282—3).
"	f 16*a*	60	General classification of the miracles of the Prophet: Traditional and Rational.
f 35*b*	"	61	The captured Gazelle and its young one.
"	"	62	A lizard bears witness to the truth of the Prophet.
"	f 16*b*	63	The Prophet intercedes for a camel which talks with him.
"	"	64	The Prophet makes a tree walk for Abú Ṭálib but fails to convert him.
"	"	65	The Prophet miraculously feeds 1,000 people on the occasion of the Battle of the Ditch.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 36*a*	f 16*b*	66	Another miracle of the same sort on the same occasion.
"	f 17*a*	67	The miraculous milking for ʿAbdu'llah b. Masʿúd and the episode of Umm-i-Maʿbad in evidence of the above.
"	"	68	Another miracle of the Prophet: water provided miraculously.
f 36*b*	"	69	Surâqa b. Málik a would-be captor of the Prophet miraculously seized by the earth. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 331—2).
"	"	70	The Prophet refuses recompense for a cure which he effected.
"	"	71	In answer to the Prophet's prayer, a lion slays ʿUtba b. Abí Lahab.
f 37*a*	f 17*b*	72	The execution of Abú Mughíth, the enemy of the Prophet.
"	"	73	Capture and conversion of ʿAbbás, the Prophet's uncle, and the murder of Abu'l-Bakhtarí.
f 37*b*	"	74	Conversion of ʿUmayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥí, the would-be assassin of the Prophet. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 471—3).
"	f 18*a*	75	Punishment of Khusraw Parwíz and conversion of Bádhán.
f 38*a*	"	76	The Prophet punishes severely Kinána b. Rabíʿa for hiding the treasure of Banú Nadhír which he discovers. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 763—4).
"	"	77	Death of Rifáʿa b. Zayd a "Hypocrite" announced by a fierce gale. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 361, 727).
"	f 18*b*	78	The Prophet's enemies miraculously destroyed by cold in the Battle of the Ditch, and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamán's part in it. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 682—4). The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter III: On the Anecdotes of the Saints (with comparative references).
f 38*b*	f 18*b*–f 19*a*	79	A short introductory note on Miracles. The Caliph ʿUmar's clairvoyance on the occasion of the Battle of Nahâwand.
f 39*a*	f 19*a*	80	The letter of the Caliph ʿUmar to the Nile, and the rising of the river.
"	"	81	Khálid b. Walíd, sent as the Prophet's ambassador to the court of Byzantium, drinks poison at the Qayṣar's command with impunity.
"	f 19*b*	82	The conversion of Ibráhím b. Adham al-Balkhí (d. 161 A. H. = 777 A. D.) and his miracle: making the pomegranate tree bear sweet fruits twice a year. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 9; *A. T. A.* I, p. 104, *ll.* 18—25).
f 39*b*	"	83	How Dhu'n-Nún of Egypt (d. 245 A. H. = 860 A. D.) felt penitent after witnessing that Providence supplied a blind lark with two dishes. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 9; *A. T. A.* I, p. 115, *ll.* 21—5).
"	"	84	Account of Abú ʿAlí Fudhayl b. ʿIyádh (d. 287 A. H. = 900 A. D.), his early career as a highway robber, his penitence and conversion of a Magian by his miraculous transmutation of earth into gold. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 10; *A. T. A.* I, pp. 75—6).
"	f 20*a*	85	Anxiety of the parents of Abú Maḥfúẓ Maʿrúf b. Fírúz al-Karkhí (d. 200 or 201 A. H. = 815 or 816 A. D.) after his conversion at the hands of the Imám ʿAlí b. Músá ar-Ridhá (d. 203 A. H. = 818 A. D.). (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 10; *A. T. A.* I, p. 269).
f 40*a*	"	86	Abu'l-Ḥasan as-Sariyyu's-Saqaṭí (d. 257 A. H. = 870 A. D.), the uncle and the spiritual director of Junayd of Baghdád (d. 298 A. H. = 910/11 A.D.), is blessed by Maʿrúf al-Karkhí for having clothed an orphan; and his

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			remorse at the Vision of the Ḥúr. (Cf. *R. Q.* pp. 11—12; *A. T. A.* I, p. 275 *ll.* 5—8, 18—23).
f 40*a*	f 20*a*	87	How Abú Naṣr Bishr b. al-Ḥári<u>th</u> al-Ḥáfí (d. 227 A. H. = 841/2 A. D.) was forgiven by God for his act of sanctifying a scrap of paper bearing *Bismilláh*; and his other sayings. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 12; *A. T. A.* I, p. 107, *ll.* 1—7).
"	"	88	The pious scruples of Abú ʿAbdi'llah al-Ḥári<u>th</u> b. Asad al-Muḥásibí (d. 243 A. H. = 857 A. D.) in rejecting an inheritance of 70,000 *Dirhams* from his father since he was a "*Qadarí*"; and how he was miraculously protected from taking any unclean thing; and what he did at the invitation of Junayd. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 13; *A. T. A.* I, pp. 225—6).
f 40*b*	f 20*b*	89	How Abú Sulaymán Dá'úd b. Nuṣayr aṭ-Ṭá'í (d. 166 A. H. = 782 A. D.) was first initiated into the path of Ṣúfism by the Imám Abú Ḥanífa (d. 150 A. H. = 767 A. D.) (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 14; *A. T. A.* I, pp. 219—20).
"	"	90	Early life of Abú ʿAlí Shaqíq b. Ibráhím al-Balkhí (d. 274 A. H. = 887 A. D.) as a trader and the remark of an idolator that awakened him. Another account of his repentance: the story of the slave who remained during a severe famine care-free and cheerful, because his master had ample provisions. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 15; *A. T. A.* I, pp. 196—7).
"	"	91	Shaqíq bails out his neighbour, and releases him from the charge against him by restoring one of the lost dogs of ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá b. Máhán, the governor of Balkh. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 15; *A. T. A.* I, p. 197).
f 41*a*	f 21*a*	92	The Ascension of Abú Yazíd Ṭayfúr b. ʿÍsá Bisṭámí (d. 261 or 234 A. H. = 874 or 848 A. D.) or the Beatific Vision in which he passed the stages of his purification. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 16; *A. T. A.* I, pp. 172—6). (The *Maqámát-i-Shaykh Bá Yazíd-i-Bisṭámí* is indirectly referred to in this Anec.).
f 41*b*	"	93	Muḥammad b. Sawwár, the uncle of Abú Muḥammad Sahl b. ʿAbdu'llah at-Tustarí (d. 273 or 283 A. H. = 886 or 896 A. D.), teaches him how to remember God, the Creator. Early ascetic practices and the penance of Sahl. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 17; *A. T. A.* I, pp. 253—4).
"	f 21*b*	94	A miraculous provision of food for a Christian at the prayer of Abú Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. ʿAṭiyyatu'd-Dárání (d. 215 A. H. = 830 A. D.). (Cf. *J. N. U.* p. 43).
f 42*a*	"	95	How ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán Ḥátim b. Yúsuf al-Aṣamm (d. 237 A. H. = 851 A. D.) obtained the nickname of "al-Aṣamm" or the Deaf. (Cf *R. Q.* p. 18; *A. T. A.* I, p. 245).
"	f 22*a*	96	Saʿíd b. Muḥammad ar-Rází's (d. 258 A. H. = 871/2 A. D.) account of the anger of Ḥátim al-Aṣamm and the paralysing of the hand of a dishonest creditor. (Cf. *A. T. A.* I, p. 245).
"	"	97	The rising-up of the bucket automatically from the bottom of a well at the prayer of one of the disciples of Abú Ḥámid Aḥmad b. Khi<u>dh</u>rawayh of Balkh (d. 240 A. H. = 854 A. D.). How his debts were paid up at his death-bed by an unknown person. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 19). (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Masháʾikh-i-Khurásán* as the source, see above, p. 54).
		98	The historic visit of the Shaykh Abú Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Maslama al-Ḥaddád (d. circa 264 A. H. = 877 A. D.) to the convent of the Shaykh Abú

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			ʿUthmán al-Ḥírí (d. 298 A. H. = 910 A. D.), the lighting of nineteen lamps for the sake of God resulting in the conversion of a family of the Jews. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 19, 22; *A. T. A.* I, p. 322).
f 42*b*	f 22*b*	99	Yaʿqúb b. Layth the Ṣaffárid cured of an irremediable disease by the prayer of Sahl-i-Tustarí. (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 141, *l.* 20; *A. T. A.* I, p. 255).
"	"	100	Ibn ʿÁmir Abdu'l-Qays is watched over by a lion during his prayer whereby a Christian monk is converted.
f 43*a*	"	101	ʿAmr b. Málik delivered of his debt by a purse miraculously supplied by the Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Núrí (d. 295 A. H. = 907 A. D.). (Cf. *R. Q.* p. 23; *A. T. A.* II, p. 46).
"	"	102	How Rabíʿ b. Khuthyam consigns his daughter to the protection of God on the peak of Abú Qubays, where she is found and brought up by the Caliph (?).
"	f 23*a*	103	Description of the ecstatic state of Abú Bakr-i-Shiblí (d. 334 A. H. = 946 A. D.) in his early days, and the reply of a potter that awakened him to the magic power that lies in the repetition of the names of God. (Cf. *A. T. A.* II, p. 162, *l.* 18; also *J. N. U.* p. 201).
f 43*b*	"	104	Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharaqání's (d. 425 A. H. = 1033 A. D.) explanation to his visitors of his attitude towards the conduct of his wife and the consequent submission of the wild beasts to his will. (The anecdote is related in *A. T. A.* II, p. 208 in connection with the visit of Ibn Síná, (d. 1037 A. D.) the philosopher, to the saint). Cf. *J. N. V.* p. 336.
"	"	105	Abú Sulaymán Dáraní prays for the soul of his shrewish wife in spite of her wicked treatment of him, which results in converting her into a pious woman.
"	"	106	Dhu'n-Nún-i-Miṣrí's astonishment at the miraculous scorpion that crossed the Nile and saved a drunkard from a snake, and the inferences drawn from this extraordinary occurrence. (The *Kitab-i-Siyaru'ṣ-Ṣáliḥín* (?) as the source, see above, p. 24, *l.* 35).
f 44*a*	f 23*b*	107	How Muḥammad b. ʿAlí was drifted to a strange land in chasing the saint, Sahl-i-Tustarí, and miraculously transported back to his native town, Tustar. (The *Rawdhatu'l-ʿUlamá* (?) as the source, see above p. 24, *l.* 35).
"	"	108	The dream of Rabíʿ b. Khuthyam and his visit to the mysterious woman Maymúna-i-Zangí, and their marriage in Paradise. (The *Rawdhatu'l-ʿUlamá* as the source).
f 44*b*	f 24*a*	109	Rabíʿ b. Khuthyam, when accused by a boating party of stealing a pearl, acquits himself miraculously by producing pearls from the sea.
			Descriptive titles of the Anecdotes of the Shaykh Abú Saʿíd b. Abí'l-Khayr of Mayhana.
"	"	110	The story of a traveller who was left in the desert of Marw, and the mysterious appearance of a rider, at whose bidding a tiger carries him back safely to his caravan, and whom the traveller recognises later on in Níshápúr as the great Shaykh Abú Saʿíd. (The *Maqámát-i-Shaykh Abí Saʿíd* indirectly mentioned. See above, p. 24, *l.* 34, pp. 39—40). Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 76—84.

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f 45*a*	f 24*b*	111	How the Shaykh reads the thoughts of the Khwája Abu'l-Qásim Háshimí and awakens in him the love of the real. (Cf. *M. A. T.* p. 70).
f 45*b*	"	112	An instance of the Shaykh's voluntary levies: how the Shaykh ordered Ḥasan Mu'addab, the famulus, to buy a certain sheep in the shop of a butcher in Níshápúr, and throw it to dogs, while the inmates of his convent were in want of meat for some time, and how it led to the butcher's confession of his guilt, and to his supplying plenty of meat for the convent. (Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 141—2).
"	f 25*a*	113	Another instance of similar kind: the Shaykh's levy on the *Naqíb*, the chief constable of Níshápúr, and his acceptance of the purse which the *Naqíb* had extorted and now tauntingly offered to him, which in the end proved to be a bequest made to the Shaykh himself, but had been stolen.
"	"	114	How the ʿAmíd of Khurásán, called in the beginning Ḥájib Muḥammad, rose to power through the blessings of the Shaykh. (Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 113—4).
f 46*a*	"	115	The origin of the convent of the Ṣúfís at Iṣfahán, and the prophecy of the Shaykh about the rise and fall of the great Wazír, the Niẓámu'l-Mulk Ṭúsí. (Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 233—6).
"	f 25*b*	116	How the great Wazír, the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, offered his money-belt at the invitation of the Shaykh, and was in the end rewarded by the services of 1,000 men in livery. (Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 115—6).
f 46*b*	"	117	The Shaykh's triumph over his rival, Abú Muḥammad Juwayní, and the conversion of a Jew thereby. (Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 169—70).
"	"	118	The conversion of Ḥasan Mu'addab, and the offer of his Ṭabarí turban after the Shaykh had exposed him mercilessly. (Cf. *M. A. T.* pp. 75—6).
			Part I, Chapter IV: On the Account of the Ancient Kings of Persia, Greece, China, India, and of the Turks and Arabs.
"	f 26*a*	119	A short introduction; reference to at-Ṭabarí's Annals, and ath-Thaʿálibí's *Ghurar* (see above, pp. 89—90). A short account of the reign of Gayúmarth. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 1—4).
f 47*a*	"	120	A short account of the reign of Húshang. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 5—7).
"	"	121	A short account of the reign of Ṭahmúrath. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 7—10).
f 47*b*	f 26*b*	122	A short account of the reign of Jamshíd; the origin of Nayrúz and of wine. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 10—17).
"	"	123	Wine made unlawful by Kay-Qubád and again made lawful. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 149—52).
"	"	124	Conclusion of Jamshíd's reign. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 16—7).
f 48*a*	"	125	The reign of Dhaḥák. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 18).
"	f 27*a*	126	Dhaḥák and the devil: the origin of flesh-eating, the two snakes and their horrible food. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 19—24).
f 48*b*	f 27*b*	127	The origin of the Kurds and the story of Irmá'íl and Kirmá'íl. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 24).
"	"	128	Dhaḥák's dream, and the birth and adventures of Farídún. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 32).
f 49*a*	f 28*a*	129	The reign of Farídún: the origin of Mihrján, and of the Dirafsh-i-Káwa-yání. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 36—40).
f 49*b*	"	130	Farídún and his three sons; the murder of Íraj; birth of Minúchihr. The

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			Sháhnáma of Firdawsí, and the *Ghurar* of ath-Thaʿálibí are referred to. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 52—65).
f 50*b*	f 29*a*	131	Adventures of Sám and Zál-i-Zar and the reign of Minuchihr. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 68—108). (A *Sháhnáma* is here referred to).
f 53*a*	f 31*a*	132	Birth of Rustam.
"	"	133	The reign of Nawdhar, and the aggressions of Afrásiyáb. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 109—110).
f 53*b*	f 31*b*	134	Afrásiyab's invasion of Írán. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 110 *et seq.*).
f 54*b*	f 32*a*	135	Ṭahmásp's reign; the shot of Kay-Arish.
"	f 32*b*	136	Kay-Qubád's reign; Afrásiyab's attempts on Íránshahr, and the adventures of Rustam. (Cf. *Gh.* 139—47).
f 55*a*	"	137	Reign of Kay-Ká'ús, his relations with Yaman, and his rescue. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 154—63).
f 55*b*	f 33*a*	138	The story of Siyáwush and Súdábah, Siyáwush makes common cause with his father's enemy, Afrásiyáb. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 168—212).
f 58*b*	f 35*a*	139	Reign of Kay-Khusraw and the death of Afrásiyáb. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 212—38).
f 59*a*	f 36*a*	140	Reign of Luhrásp. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 239—44).
f 60*a*	f 36*b*	141	Story of Gushtásp and the appearance of Zoroaster. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 245, 256, 262).
"	"	142	The war between Gushtásp and Arjásp; the account of the fire-temple Ádhar-Núsh. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 263—76).
f 60*b*	f 37*a*	143	Isfandiyár's martial exploits. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 277—81).
f 61*b*	f 37*b*	144	The *Haft Khwán* or the account of the seven exploits of Isfandiyar. (A *Sháhnáma* is referred to.) (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 301—38).
f 62*a*	f 38*a*	145	Isfandiyár slain by Rustam. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 338—78).
f 64*a*	f 39*b*	146	Death of Rustam. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 379—85).
f 64*b*	f 40*a*	147	Reign of Bahman, the son of Isfandiyár. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 386—390).
"	"	148	Reign of Queen Humáy. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 390—1).
"	"	149	Humáy abdicates in favour of her son Dáráb. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 392—7).
f 65*a*	f 40*b*	150	Accession of Dárá, the son of Dáráb. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 397—9).
"	"	151	Alexander the Great refuses to pay tribute to Persia. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 399—408).
f 65*b*	f 41*a*	152	Dárá defeated and slain by Alexander. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 408—11).
f 66*a*	"	153	Alexander's invasion of India. his entry into the Land of Darkness and ʿIráq. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 416—34).
f 67*a*	f 41*b*	154	Institution of the Mulúk'uṭ-Ṭawá'if by Aristotle's advice.
"	f 42*a*	155	History of the Mulúk'uṭ-Ṭawa'if or the Tribal Kings. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 456—8).
f 67*b*	"	156	The reign of Faghfúr, the son of Ashkan, one of the descendents of Yáfith b. Núḥ. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 458—73).
f 68*a*	f 42*b*	157	Rise of the Sásánian dynasty: birth and promising career and reign of Ardashír-i-Bábakán. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 473—82). (*Sharḥ-i-Maqamát-i-Ḥarírí* of Muṭarrizí is quoted and *Ṭabari* also cited).
f 69*a*	f 43*a*	158	Birth of Shápúr. (*Ṭabari* cited).
f 69*b*	f 43*b*	159	Reign of Shápúr. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 487—9).
"	"	160	Story of Sáṭirún and Dhayzan. Continuation of Shápúr's reign (*Ṭabari* cited).
f 70*a*	f 44*a*	161	Reign of Hurmuz. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 498—500).
"	"	162	Reign of Bahrám; appearance of Manes, the founder of Zindiqism. (Cf. *Gh.*

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			pp. 500—501). (*Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi*, i. e. the *Kitáb 'ul-Badw-wa't-Ta'rikh* of Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisí edited by C. Huart. see Vol. iii, p. 157, as the source). See above, pp. 34—5.
f 70*a*	f 44*a*	163	Manes: his skill in painting and some principles of the Manichaeans. (The *Kitab-i-A'radhu'r-Riyása-fi-Aghráḍhi's-Siyása* as the source).
f 70*b*	f 44*b*	164	Reign of Bahram II, called the "Ṣalif", and his son Bahrám b. Bahram b. Bahrám. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 503—8).
"	"	165	Reign of Narsí, the son of Bahrám (very short). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 508—10).
"	"	166	Reign of Hurmuz, the son of Narsi (very short). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 510—12).
"	"	167	Reign of Shápúr "Dhu'l-Aktáf". (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 513—32).
f 71*b*	f 45*a*	168	Reigns of Ardashír II, the son of Hurmuz and Shápúr the son of Shápúr (very short). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 532—5).
"	"	169	Reign of Bahrám b. Shápúr b. Shápúr called Kirmánsháh. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 535—6).
"	"	170	Reign of Yazdigird "the Sinner". (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 537—9).
"	f 45*b*	171	Reign of Bahrám Gúr. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 539—44).
f 72*a*	"	172	Why Bahrám was called Bahrám Gúr (very short). (Cf. *Gh.* p. 544).
"	"	173	Bahram Gúr visits his father Yazdigird "the Sinner". (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 544—9).
"	"	174	(*a*) How Bahrám wins the crown by the ordeal of lions, (cf. *Gh.* pp. 549—53), (*b*) and his victory over the Kháqán-i-Chín. (*Gh.* 554—560).
f 73*a*	f 46*a*	175	Bahram Gúr visits India, meets Shankal; occasion of the spurious but celebrated couplet: (in *Gh.* Ibn Khurdádbih is cited for this verse). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 560—4).
"	f 46*b*	176	Bahrám imports a thousand minstrels from India: origin of the Lúliyán or Kúriyán (in *Gh.* Lúriyyun). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 564—9).
f 73*b*	"	177	Reigns of Yazdigird II and Fírúz, the sons of Bahrám Gúr. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 569—79). And the dreadful famine and Fírúz's generosity.
"	"	178	Khushunwár or Khushnawáz, the sodomist, the ruler of Garjistán, and Fíruz's unsuccessful attempt to suppress that vice (the story is related at some length). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 579—83).
f 74*b*	f 47*a*	179	Sawájir, the Regent, acts wisely and restores the sons of Fírúz. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 586).
"	f 47*b*	180	Reigns of Balásh and Qubád, the sons of Fírúz. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 583—90).
f 75*a*	"	181	Qubád and Jámásp fight for the throne: Qubád restored at last. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 590—6).
"	f 48*a*	182	The appearance of Mazdak and Qubád's reception of him. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 596—603).
f 75*b*	"	183	Reign of Núshírwán and the suppression of the Mazdakites. The story is connected with Nu'mán b. Mundhir, Imra'u'l-Qays and Mazdak (reference to *Ghurar*, *Ṭabarí*.) (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 603—6).
f 76*a*	f 48*b*	184	Remainder of Núshirwán's reign. (In *Gh.* 610—36: Núshírwán's saying, invasions, chess, *Kalíla wa Dimna*, Barzuwayh and Buzurjimihr are mentioned, which are omitted in the *Jawámi'*). (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 609, 636).
f 76*b*	"	185	Reign of Hurmuz, the son of Núshírwán: Bahrám Chúbín. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 637—61).
f 78*a*	f 49*b*	186	Flight of Parwíz.
f 79*a*	f 50*a*	187	The Wonders collected by Parwíz. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 698). [Kháqání and Niẓámí (*Khusraw wa Shírín*) cited].

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f 79*b*	f 50*b*	188	Fall and death of Parwíz at the hands of Shírwayh. (*Kalíla wa Dimna* is referred to.) (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 712, 724).
f 80*a*	f 51*a*	189	Shírwayh murders his brothers. Death of Shírín.
f 80*b*	"	190	Reign and death of Shírwayh. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 718).
"	"	191	Reign of Ardashír, the son of Shírwayh. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 731).
"	f 51*b*	192	Reigns of Shahr-Ázád, Búrán, and Ázarmídukht, his daughters. (Cf. *Gh.* p. 733).
f 81*a*	"	193	Farrukh-Zád and Ázarmídukht, and the rise and fall of Yazdigird. (Cf. *Gh.* pp. 736—42).
f 81*b*	f 52*a*	194	Some account of the Kings of Rúm, *ie*, Byzantium.
"	"	195	Heraclius persists in opening the locked chamber.
			The chapter ends with a short eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter V: On the History of the Caliphs: A comparative list of the three periods.
			The Orthodox Caliphs (11—40 A. H. = 632—661 A. D.).
f 82*a*	"	196	Introduction: A discourse on the Caliphate and Imámate.
			Caliphate of Abú Bakr. (11 A. H. = 632 A. D.).
f 82*b*	f 52*b*	197	ʿUmar and Abú Bakr at Muḥammad's death.
"	f 53*a*	198	Despatch of 'Usáma b. Zayd against Syria.
f 83*a*	"	199	The rebellion of Ṭalḥa b. Khuwaylid after the death of the Prophet.
"	"	200	Málik killed by Khálid: disagreement of Abú Bakr and ʿUmar.
f 84*a*	f 53*b*	201	Campaign against Persia.
f 84*b*	f 54*a*	202	Same continued. Conquest of Ubulla. (Imporant details concerning the current events, when the author had begun to write this history under Náṣir'ud-Dín Qabácha, see above, p. 112, *n.* 4).
f 85*a*	"	203	The Battle of Yarmúk; dismissal of Khálid.
f 86*a*	f 55*a*	204	Death of Abú Bakr.
f 86*b*	"	205	Caliphate of ʿUmar. (13 A. H. = 634 A. D.).
"	"	206	Continuation of Persian Campaign.
f 87*a*	f 55*b*	207	Abu ʿUbayda refuses presents offered to him by the Dihqáns.
"	"	208	The Battle of the Bridge.
f 88*a*	f 56*a*	209	Continuation of Persian Campaign. The Caliph ʿUmar sends Jarír b. ʿAbd-u'llah al-Bajalí for the reinforcement of Muthanná.
"	"	210	Sʿad ibn-i-Abí Waqqáṣ raids the market of Baghdád.
f 88*b*	"	211	The Persian and Arab armies meet at Qádisiyya.
f 89*a*	f 56*b*	212	The Arab ambassadors before Yazdigird.
f 89*b*	"	213	The Battle of Qádisiyya.
f 90*a*	f 57*a*	214	Khálid's success against the Byzantines.
f 90*b*	"	215	Further success against the Byzantines: Íliyá taken.
f 91*a*	f 57*b*	216	Increasing despair of Yazdigird.
"	"	217	The Arabs divide the spoil at Madáʾin (Ctesiphon); account of the spoil.
f 92*a*	f 58*a*	218	Assassination of ʿUmar by Abú Lúlú, the Persian slave.
"	"	219	Dying words of the Caliph ʿUmar.
"	"	220	The election of ʿUthmán to the Caliphate. (23 A. H. = 644 A. D.).

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f 92*b*	f 58*a*	221	The Caliph ʿUthmán's first address to the Muslims.
"	f 58*b*	222	Abu'l-ʿAyná' defends ʿUthmán before one of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs. (A part of this Anec. is quoted in the *Tajáribu's-Salaf*, see Browne [Or. G. 3] f. 34*a*).
f 93*a*	"	223	Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmán.
"	"	224	Particulars of the Caliph ʿUthmán's life and genealogy.
"	"	225	(*a*) ʿAlí's sentiments towards Uthmán. (*b*) Another anecdote representing the same.
"	"	226	Caliphate of ʿAlí, and his intention to depose Muʿáwiya. (35 A.H. = 656 A.D.).
f 93*b*	f 59*a*	227	Discussion, concerning the internecine wars of the early Companions of the Prophet, at a later period, is both unprofitable and undesirable, as depicted in this anecdote.
"	"	228	Anecdote concerning ʿAlí: Elucidation of a verse about ʿAlí.
"	"	229	The ʿÍd-i-Ghadír.
"	"	230	The Prophet chooses ʿAlí as his adopted brother, while he was inaugurating the ceremony of brotherhood amongst his Compannions in pairs.
f 94*a*	"	231	Reply to a Khárijite who reviled the Caliph ʿAlí.
"	f 59*b*	232	A reminiscence of the author when he was preaching at Níshápúr, and a miracle of the Prophet. (Autobiographic details).
f 94*b*	"	233	The Khárijite conspiracy.
"	f 60*a*	234	Caliphate of al-Ḥasan, the son of the Caliph ʿAlí. (40 A. H. = 661 A. D.).
			The Umayyad Caliphs (41—132 A. H. = 661—750 A. D.).
f 95*a*	"	235	The Caliphate of Muʿáwiya b. Abí Sufyán, and a *Memoria Technica* of the fourteen Umayyad Caliphs by the author.
"	"	236	Anecdote of Hind's divorce and marriage (and explanation of a line of Firdawsí, not found in A).
f 95*b*	f 60*b*	237	How it came about that the sword ever divided the children of ʿAbd-i-Shams and the children of Háshim.
"	"	238	Caliphate of Muʿáwiya I. (41 A. H. = 661 A. D.).
"	"	239	al-Ḥasan's speech on his abdication.
"	"	240	Muʿáwiya's tribute to ʿAlí's memory: Muʿáwiya not to be cursed.
f 96*a*	"	241	Muʿáwiya and al-Ḥasan.
"	"	242	al-Ḥasan refuses to fight for Muʿáwiya.
"	f 61*a*	243	ʿAdí b. Ḥátim and Muʿáwiya.
"	"	244	Muʿáwiya's dying counsel to his son Yazíd.
f 96*b*	"	245	Muʿáwiya tests ʿAlí by false reports.
"	"	246	Caliphate of Yazíd I. (60 A. H. = 680 A. D.). (Author as a preacher in Níshápúr).
f 97*a*	f 61*b*	247	Origin of Yazíd's hatred of al-Ḥusayn.
"	"	248	Caliphate of Muʿáwiya II. (64 A. H. = 683 A. D.). (A part of this anecdote is quoted in the *Tajáribu's Salaf*, see Browne [Or. G. 3] f 34*a*).
f 97*b*	"	249	Caliphate of Marwán I (64 A. H. = 683 A. D.).
"	f 62*a*	250	Death of Marwán.
"	"	251	Caliphate of ʿAbdu'l-Malik (65 A. H. = 685 A. D.).
"	"	252	ʿAmr b. Saʿíd, Ibn Zubayr and Ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya contend for the Caliphate.

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f 97*b*	f 62*a*	253	Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr defeated and slain.
„	„	254	Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf and Músá b. Nuṣayr help 'Abdu'-Malik.
f 98*a*	„	255	'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr, Mukhtár and Ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya.
f 99*a*	f 63*a*	256	'Abdu'l-Malik and the *Qur'án*.
f 99*b*	„	257	'Abdu'l-Malik reproached for the blood of the believers shed by him.
„		258	Caliphate of al-Walíd (86 H. A. = 705 A. D.).
„		259	al-Walíd refuses to become a miser.
„	f 63*a*	260	Caliphate of Sulaymán. (96 H. A. = 715 A. D.).
„	f 63*b*	261	Sulaymán's love for the family of 'Alí and severity towards Non-Muslims.
f 100*a*	„	262	Caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz. (99 A. H. = 717 A. D.).
„	„	263	Virtues of 'Umar II.
„	„	264	Defeat of Turkish invaders during the Caliphate of 'Umar II.
„	„	265	Caliphate of Yazíd II. (101 A. H. = 720 A. D.).
„	„	266	Kindness shown by Yazíd II to al-Ḥasan's daughter Fáṭima.
f 100*b*	f 64*a*	267	Harshness of Yazíd II towards his brother.
„	„	268	Posthumous proofs of 'Umar II's policy: the two locked chambers.
„	„	269	Caliphate of Hishám. (105 A. H. = 724 A. D.).
f 101*a*	„	270	Persecution of *Qadarís*, the fate of Ghaylán.
„	„	271	Caliphate of Walíd II. (125 A. H. = 743 A. D.).
„	f 64*b*	272	Immorality and heresy of Walíd II.
„	„	273	Narrative of Walíd's concubine who took his place at public prayer.
„	„	274	Murder of Walíd II.
f 101*b*	„	275	Caliphate of Yazíd III. (126 A. H. = 744 A. D.). His Persian mother Máh-Áfaríd, the great-grand-daughter of Yazdigird.
„	„	276	End of Yazíd III's Caliphate.
„	„	277	Ibráhím Ibnu'l-Walíd, his short reign of 72 days. (126 A. H. = 744 A. D.).
„	„	278	Marwán revolts against Ibráhím.
„	f 65*a*	279	Caliphate of Marwán II. (127—132 A. H. = 744—750 A. D.).
„	„	280	Fall of the Umayyads.
			The 'Abbásid Caliphs (132—623 A. H. = 750—1226 A. D.).
f 102*a*	„	281	The rise of the 'Abbásids; a *Memoria Technica* of the 36 'Abbásid Caliphs by the author.
„	„	282	Caliphate of as-Saffáḥ. (132 A. H. = 750 A. D.).
f 102*b*	f 65*b*	283	Death of Abú Salama-i-Khallál.
„	„	284	Abú Salama's intrigues against as-Saffáḥ to restore the line of 'Alí.
f 103*a*	„	285	The defeat of Marwán II, the last of the Umayyad Caliphs.
„	„	286	Abú Salama's assassination effected by Abú Muslim.
f 103*b*	f 66*a*	287	Origin of al-Manṣúr's distrust of Abú Muslim.
f 104*a*	f 66*b*	288	Caliphate of al-Manṣúr; his avarice. (136 A. H. = 754 A. D.).
„	„	289	Abú Muslim entrapped and slain.
f 104*b*	„	290	Death of al-Manṣúr.
„	„	291	Caliphate of al-Mahdí; his prodigality. (158 A. H. = 775 A. D.).
„	„	292	al-Muqanna', the Veiled Prophet of Khúrasán. (Súzaní cited).
f 105*a*		293	Death of al-Mahdí.
„		294	Caliphate of al-Hádí; 'Alawí revolts. (169 A. H. = 785 A. D.).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 105*a*	"	295	Loyalty of Yaḥya b. Khalid, the Barmecide, to Hárúnu 'r-Rashíd.
f 105*b*		296	A strange coincidence; death of al-Hádí, accession of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd and the birth of his son, the great al-Ma'mún, on the same day.
"		297	Caliphate of Harúnu'r-Rashíd. (170 A. H. = 786 A. D.)
"		298	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuzáᶜí renounces his candidate, and goes on pilgrimage; and the birth of al-Amín and al-Ma'mún.
f 106*a*		299	The pact between al-Amín and al-Ma'mún.
"		300	Hárún's provision for his youngest son, Mu'tamin, at the division of the Caliphate.
"		301	First indications of the resentment of the Caliph Hárún against the Barmecides, at Yaḥyá's encroachment upon his privacy.
f 106*b*	f 67*a*	302	The romance of Jaᶜfar, the Barmecide, and ᶜAbbása. The suspicion of the Caliph Hárún and the destruction of the Barmecides. (The *Kitáb-i-Khalqu'l-Insán*, as the source).
f 107*a*	"	303	Catastrophe of the Barmecides. (*Ta'ríkh-i-Ṭabarí* and *Maqdisí* cited).
f 107*b*	f 67*b*	304	The Caliph Hárun's last journey to Khurásán, and his death.
"	"	305	The rising of Ráfiᶜ b. Layth in Khúrásán; ᶜAlí b. ᶜÍsá and Harthama.
f 108*a*	f 68*a*	306	Caliphate of al-Amín. (193 A. H. = 809 A. D.).
"	"	307	al-Amín's treachery to his brothers.
f 108*b*	f 68*b*	308	War between al-Amín and al-Ma'mún, and the death of al-Amín.
f 109*a*	f 69*a*	309	Caliphate of al-Ma'mún. (198 A. H. = 813 A. D.).
"	"	310	Ḥasan b. Sahl's misgovernment in Baghdád.
f 109*b*	"	311	Murder of Fadhl b. Sahl and Imám ᶜAlí b. Músá ar-Ridhá'.
f 110*a*	f 69*b*	312	Story of Ṭáhir, the ambidexter: disloyalty and death.
f 110*b*	f 70*a*	313	Death of al-Ma'mún.
"	"	314	Caliphate of al-Muᶜtaṣim. (218 A. H. = 833 A. D.).
"	"	315	The rising of Bábak-i-Khurramí and his death at the hands of Afshín. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Maqdisí* or the *Kitábu'l-Badw*, Vol. VI, pp. 114—6 cited),
f 111*b*	f 70*b*	316	Liberality of al-Muᶜtaṣim; his death.
"	"	317	Caliphate of al Wáthiq. (227 A. H. = 842 A. D.).
"	"	318	Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil. (232 A. H. = 847 A. D.).
"	f 71*a*	319	al-Mutawakkil dishonours the Imám al-Ḥusayn's grave and honours the Prophet's spear.
f 112*a*	"	320	al-Mutawakkil's sons and the partition of the Empire.
"	"	321	Murder of al-Mutawakkil by the Turkish Guard.
"	"	322	Caliphate of al-Muntaṣir. (247 A. H. = 861 A. D.).
"	"	323	Death of al-Muntaṣir.
f 112*b*	"	324	Caliphate of al-Mustaᶜín. (248 A. H. = 862 A. D.).
"	f 71*b*	325	Deposition of al-Mustaᶜín.
"	"	326	Caliphate of al-Muᶜtazz (251 A. H. = 866 A. D.); his murder by the Turks.
f 113*a*	"	327	Caliphate of al-Muhtadí. (255 A. H. = 869 A. D.); also murdered by the Turks.
"	"	328	Caliphate of al-Muᶜtamid. (256 A. H. = 870 A. D.).
"	"		The rise of the Ṣaffárids.
"	f 72*a*	329	Caliphate of al-Muᶜtadhid. (279 A. H. = 892 A. D.).
"	"	330	ᶜAlí, the Caliph, warns al-Muᶜtadhid in a dream against persecuting his descendants.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 113*b*	f 72*a*	331	Murder of ʿAmr b. Layth the Ṣaffárid.
„	„	332	Caliphate of al-Muktafí. (289 A. H. = 902 A. D.).
„	„	333	Carmathian revolt.
f 114*a*	f 72*b*	334	Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295 A. H. = 908 A. D.).
„	„	335	Muqtadir is deposed and restored: revolt of the Turkish army.
f 114*b*	„	336	Ibn 'l-Muʿtazz and the Turkish King-makers.
„	„	337	Prediction of the historian Ṭabarí about the unsettled affairs in the reign of Ibnu'l-Muʿtazz.
„	f 73*a*	338	Murder of al-Muqtadir. The quarrel of al-Amín and al-Ma'mun, a similar historical parallel.
„	„	339	Caliphate of al-Qáhir. (320 A. H. = 932 A. D.).
„	„	340	al-Qáhir's evil conduct leads to his murder.
f 115*a*	„	341	Caliphate of ar-Rádhí. (322 A. H. = 934 A. D.).
„	„	342	Account of ar-Rádhí's succession and reign.
„	„	343	Caliphate of al-Muttaqí (329 A. H. = 940 A. D.).
„	f 73*b*	344	Caliphate of al-Mustakfí — Rise of the Buwayhids (333 A. H. = 944 A. D.).
f 115*b*	„	345	al-Mustakfí blinded and murdered. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Táji* as the source).
f 116*a*	„	346	Caliphate of al-Muṭíʿ. (334 A. H. = 946 A. D.).
„	f 74*a*	347	Caliphate of at-Ṭá'iʿ. (363 A. H. = 974 A. D.).
„	„	348	Caliphate of al-Qádir. (381 A. H. = 991 A. D.). (ʿUnṣurí's *Memoria Technica* of the Sámánids is cited).
„	„	349	Rise of the Ghaznawid power.
f 116*b*	„	350	Caliphate of al-Qá'im — Rise of the Saljúq Power. (422 A. H. = 1031 A. D.).
„	„	351	Caliphate of al-Muqtadí. (467 A. H. = 1075 A. D.).
„	f 74*b*	352	Caliphate of al-Mustaẓhir. (487 A. H. = 1094 A. D.).
f 117*a*	„	353	Bahrámsháh, the Ghaznawid.
„	„	354	Caliphate of al-Mustarshid. (512 A. H. = 1118 A. D.). (Muʿizzí's quatrain in praise of Sanjar at the victory over Qaracha cited).
„	„	355	al-Mustarshid assassinated by the "Khurram-Dínán".
„	„	356	Caliphate of ar-Ráshid (529 A. H. = 1135 A. D.).
f 117*b*	„	357	Caliphate of al-Muqtafí. (530 A. H. = 1136 A. D.).
„	„	358	Caliphate of al-Mustanjid. (555 A. H. = 1160 A. D.).
„	„	359	Caliphate of al-Mustaḍhí. (566 A. H. = 1170 A. D.).
„	f 75*a*	360	Caliphate of an-Náṣir. (575 A. H. = 1180 A. D.).
f 118*a*	f 75*b*	361	Caliphate of aẓ-Ẓáhir. (622 A. H. = 1225 A. D.).
f 118*b*	„	362	Caliphate of al-Mustanṣir. (623 A. H. = 1226 A. D.). N.B. i. Contemporary accounts. ii. Connection of the Caliphs with the Indian rulers of the author's time. iii. Iltutmish, the patron of the author, as the vice-regent of the Caliph. The chapter ends with contemporary accounts and a short eulogy upon the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter VI: On the Excellence of Justice and of Just Kings.
f 118*b*	f 76*a*		Introduction: a dissertation on the virtue of justice, with a panegyric on the Wazír. (Anwarí's satire on poets cited).
f 119*a*		363	How the torments of hell were mitigated to Núshírwán and Ḥátim of Ṭayy.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 119*a*	f 76*a*	364	Bahrám Gúr and his minister Rást-rawish. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 19—25). (See above, pp. 76—84).
f 119*b*	"	365	Núshírwán punishes the governor of Ádharbáyján at the complaint of an old woman. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 28—35).
"	"	366	Story of an Indian Ráy's justice to the persecuted Muslims of Kunbáyat (Cambay). (Autobiographic: data for the residence of the author, as a judge in that place about 620 A. H.).
f 120*a*	f 77*a*	367	The famous story of Qubád and the milk-maid.
f 120*b*	"	368	Ma'mún discovers the grave of Núshírwán and finds his body undecayed.
"	f 77*b*	369	The old woman who refused to sell her house, which was situated in the great palace of Núshírwán.
"	"	370	Núshírwán and Mazdak: Núshírwán suppresses the Mazdakites and restores peace to the land.
"	"	371	The Caliph al-Mahdí appears before the judge: his law-abiding character.
f 121*a*	"	372	The king of Kirmán and the treasure-finder.
"	"	373	Story (from Indian sources) of the honest buyer of a house wherein was concealed a treasure.
"	f 78*a*	374	Memorable justice of the Indian ruler حسنك (probably Jaysingh): The tank of Nuh-Lak in Nahrwála built from the unclaimed money on deposit.
"	"	375	King Hurmuzán and a comparison of the duration of the life of a hawk and a vulture.
f 121*b*	"	376	Warning of the Indian Ráy to the king of Turkistán.
"	"	377	A tyrannical king reproved by a madman.
"	f 78*b*	378	How the king of Kirmán lost his three fingers.
f 122*a*	"	379	How the Qayṣar's life was spared by the Caliph.
"	"	380	The Ráy and his perfidious brother, the governer of Nahrwála, who wanted to poison him.
"	"	381	How al-Muʿtaḏhid detected the peculations of a judge and restored the stolen purse. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 77—80).
f 122*b*	f 79*a*	382	How ʿAḏhudu'd-Dawla made the Qáḏhí return the two jars filled with *Dínárs*, which he was refusing to the owner. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 69—77).
f 123*a*	"	383	Amír Ismáʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid and the hoax about the treasures of ʿAmr b. Layth. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 14—17).
"	f 79*b*	384	How a courtier's tyranny results in the death of a Persian king.
"	"	385	The Sultan Maḥmúd punishes publicly a courtier for his tyrannical exactions.
"	"	386	The Caliph ʿUmar, the widow of a warrior and her orphans. (Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 128).
f 123*b*	"	387	How ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l-Azíz was scrupulously honest about public rights, so much so that he closed his nostrils when the musk of the war-spoil was brought to him.
"	f 80*a*	388	How Alptigín won Ghazna by an act of justice: the Turkish guards and the poultry.
"	"	389	Muḥammad b. Isḥáq, the ruler of Khúzistán, and his most capable and just Wazír.
f 124*a*	"	390	Núshírwán's chain and the old ass. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 36—37).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 124*a*	f 80*b*	391	How Ṭamgháj Khán the Great, the ruler of Samarqand, prevented a rise in the price of meat.
f 124*b*	"	392	The deaf king of Chín orders red clothes to be worn by the oppressed (Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 10).
"	"	393	Malikshán the Saljúq and the old woman whose cow was killed by his slaves.
"	f 81*a*	394	The Qáḏhí of Raqqa compels ʿÍsá b. Jaʿfar to discharge his liabilities. (The *Khalqu'l-Insán*, as the source. See above, p. 66).
f 125*a*	"	395	al-Muʿtaḏhid abides by the decision of Abú Ḥázim, the judge, about the inheritance of Ṣafi (?), his store-keeper.
"	"	396	How Sultan Sanjar atones for accidentally shooting a child in Ṭálaqán.
f 125*b*	f 81*b*	397	How the Ráy of Nahrwála كوربال submitted himself to the punishment of being burnt to death by the Brahmins.
"	"	398	The Sultan Maḥmúd kills a miscreant in the dark, lest he might recognise in him his own son.
f 126*a*	f 82*a*	399	Story of a tailor who made the Amír pay his debt to the merchant. The significance of his prayer-call at an unusual hour. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, pp. 17—19, also *N. S. N.* pp. 45—54).
f 127*a*	f 82*b*	400	Sultan Muʿizzuʿd-Dín Muḥammad Ghúrí refuses to confiscate the wealth of Awsábhar (?). The chapter ends with a eulogy upon the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter VII: On the Virtues and Memorable Traits of the Kings.
"	f 83*a*	401	Introduction: The ten supreme qualities of the ancient Persian kings observed by Ibnu'l-Muqaffaʿ.
f 127*b*	"	402	The qualities which secured promotion in ancient Persia. (The *Kitáb-i-Áyín-i-Mulúk* as the source. See above, pp. 56, 57).
"	"	403	Kay-Qubád on the splendour of the kings. (Ẓahíru'd-Dín Fáryábí cited).
"	f 83*b*	404	Abú Muslim's advice about the colour of cloth (*viz*, black) which was recommended by Ardashír to his sons.
f 128*a*	"	405	Abu'l-Qásim Ḥuṣayrí's advice to Sultan Raḏhi[yyu'd-Dín Ibráhím, the Ghaznawid,] about administration.
"	"	406	The Sultan Ibráhím Raḏhi[yyu'd-Dín]'s anxiety for the appointment of the successor of his old chamberlain.
"	f 84*a*	407	Sultan Maḥmúd's policy in punishing a beautiful fugitive Turkish slave.
f 128*b*	"	408	The Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim's unlucky choice of his favourites.
"	"	409	Sabuktigín's advice to his son, Maḥmúd, to build the garden of Magnanimity. (Niẓámí-i-ʿArúḏhí-i-Samarqandí's famous lines cited).
f 129*a*	f 84*b*	410	ʿUmar II's conception of leadership.
"	"	411	The Caliph ʿUmar's kind treatment of his slaves.
"	"	412	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir adopts the Persian custom of giving justice to all on the day of Nawrúz and Mihrgán.
"	"	413	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir acknowledges the claims of a noble of Ghazna and appoints him as the Governor of Báward.
f 129*b*	f 85*a*	414	Abú Sahl-i-Tustarí's advice to Ziyád b. Sahl and his benevolent government of Khurásán.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 139a	f 93a	474	The four superior qualities in Muʿáwiya which overthrew the Caliph ʿAlí.
"	"	475	Shápúr b. Ardashír's advice to his son Hurmuz about the art of government.
"	"	476	The four wise precepts of Yazdigird b. Bahrám Gúr highly appreciated in the court of al-Manṣúr. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-ʿAjam* as the source, see above, pp. 55—60).
f 139b	f 93b	477	Parwíz orders the decapitation of a proud Governor.
"	"	478	Parwíz's counsel to his son about the army.
"	"	479	The extent of Parwíz's love for Shírín.
"	"	480	The first appearance of the Caliph ʿUthmán on the pulpit.
"	"	481	ʿUthmán the Caliph's piety and generosity in the pre-Islamic days.
"	"	482	The Caliph ʿUthmán explains the failure of his mild policy to critics. (The *Gharíbu'l-Ḥadíth* as the source). The chapter ends with a short eulogy upon the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter IX: On the Punitive system of the Kings.
f 140a	f 94a	483	A short introduction. ʿUthmán the Caliph's warning to the wicked and blessings to the peaceful.
"	"	484	Shápúr b. Ardashír's advice to his son to beware of revolution and mob-fury.
"	"	485	The Caliph al-Manṣúr rids himself of Abú Muslim, his benefactor, as he was growing dangerous.
f 140b	"	486	al-Ḥajjáj selects ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. ʿAmr at-Tamímí as his vice-gerent on account of his scrupulousness and justice.
"	f 94b	487	Núshírwán's proclamation against crime and murder — branding of criminals —.
"	"	488	A king of Ṭukháristán orders the trial of a favourite courtier for murder, while the opponent excuses him and accepts the blood-price.
"	"	489	Atábak-i-Zangí, a king of Persia, sentences a vagabond of Shíráz to death.
f 141a	"	490	A similar instance of Sharaf's treachery in the time of Sultan Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak, (related by the author, al-Awfí, himself).
"	"	491	Ḥajjáj's warning to the people of Kúfa.
"	"	492	The intrigues of the general, Abu'l-ʿAbbás, and his assassination in the reign of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín. (Another contemporary incident).
f 141b	f 95a	493	Sultan Maḥmúd severely punishes his chamberlain.
"	"	494	Sultan Maḥmúd's admonition to his brother Amír Naṣr by ordering the Royal drums to be beaten at his door (retold in pt. IV. ch. ii. Anec. 1802).
"	"	495	Ḥammád attacks Fadhl b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, for his impertinence before Hárúnu'r-Rashíd.
"	"	496	Bábak-i-Khurramí brought before Muʿtaṣim and killed at the advice of Afshín.
f 142a	f 95b	497	Ṣadíf's ode in praise of as-Saffáḥ and the assassination of Sulaymán b. Hishám and his son at the poet's instigation.
"	"	498	The Caliph al-Hádí kills two women caught committing an unnatural offence.
"	"	499	ʿAdhudu'd-Dawla drowns his favourite slave-girl, since his infatuation for her weaned him away too much from state affairs
f 142b	f 96a	500	Amír Ismáʿíl b. Naṣr Sámání's shrewd policy and the capture of Sanjáb. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Amír Ismáʿíl [wa] Naṣr b. Aḥmad Sámání* is indefinitely mentioned as the source) (?).

A	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 143*a*	f 96*a*	501	Abú Muslim's furious gaze strikes terror in the heart of a criminal.
„	„	502	Terrorism of princes: Muʿtaṣim and Marwán — illustrated from the fable of a hawk and a hen.
„	f 96*b*	503	Núshírwán punishes a boon-companion for furthering the interests of a cruel Amír.
„	„	504	Núshírwán throws to the dogs the body of a rebellious governor of Armenia.
„	„	505	al-Manṣúr counts only four great names among the Umayyads and omits that of ʿUmar II.
f 143*a*	„	506	The Caliph Hárún and his last order for the destruction of the Barmecides, — another cause of their downfall connected with their secret protection of Yaḥyá b. ʿAbdu'llah b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlawí.
f 144*a*	f 97*a*	507	The Caliph ʿUthmán expounds the art of government.
„	„	508	An instance of Ṭamgháj Khán the Great's stern justice.
„	„	509	How Ṭamgháj Khán arrested and slew the band of robbers in Samarqand.
f 144*b*	f 97*b*	510	al-Manṣúr punishes Rabíʿ, the chamberlain, and the wardrobe-keeper for a slight neglect of duty.
„	„	511	as-Saffáḥ dismisses a favourite, and reinstates him after a long time.
„	„	512	ʿUmar II's views on equity and justice.
„	„	513	Hishám b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik's punishment of a cruel governor.
f 145*a*	„	514	The three unpardonable acts in the eyes of the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
„	f 98*a*	515	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ḥusayn's mighty stroke in beheading a prisoner of Rúm handed over to him for execution by Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik, the Caliph.
„	„	516	The tyrannical extortions of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik, and his just doom at the hands of al-Mutawakkil.
„	„	517	al-Muʿtamid orders on his death-bed the execution of ʿAmr b. Layth.
„	„	518	Confiscation and physical torture as deterrent of crime in the days of the Kisrás.
„	„	519	A general of Hurmuz pays heavy damages to a gardener, lest Núshírwán should come to know of his cruelty.
f 145*b*	„	520	Sultan Maḥmúd inspires awe in the mind of a general and stops blackmail.
„	f 98*b*	521	A courtier expires at the summons of Sultan Muḥammad Saljúq.
„	„	522	Sultan Maḥmúd punishes severely and hangs one of his elephant-keepers. (Cf. *B. T. M.* pp. 557—8) see above, pp. 60—64. The chapter ends with a short eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter X: Answers to Petitions, and Royal Mandates.
„	„	523	A short introduction. Núshírwán's order to supply as usual the luxuries supplied to his predecessors, at the petition of the cup-bearer.
„	„	524	Baṭlímús's reply to the notables of Damascus: the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád endorses his view.
f 146*a*	„	525	A clever reply of Kisrá to his sons at their request to be taught statecraft.
„	f 99*a*	526	Another benevolent order of Kisrá about the property of an Indian caravan in Persia.

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f 146*a*	f 99*a*	527	Kisrá stops innovations and issues orders to the governor of Ṭabaristán.
"	"	528	Núshírwán's two decisions: one against a well-known secretary, another for the patronage and protection of an upstart.
f 146*b*	"	529	Núshírwan as the observer of traditions rather than of intentions.
"	"	530	Alexander's disparaging remark about the huge army of Dárá.
"	"	531	Ardashír's clever reply to his courtiers about the fault of one of them.
"	f 99*b*	532	Kisrá's reply to the governor of Rayy, charged with oppression.
"	"	533	Núshírwán hangs a Satrap for disgracing an old noble of his court.
"	"	534	Núshírwán's administrative genius evinced at the early age of 19.
f 147*a*	"	535	The last advice of Arjásp, the king of Turkistán, to his son.
"	"	536	Famine in Yaman and the Kisrá's generous offer at the request of Nuᶜmán b. Mundhir.
"	"	537	as-Saffáḥ lavishes money on his favourites at his accession.
"	"	538	Hishám b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik's foresight as shown in his reply to a petition against ᶜÍsá b. ᶜAdí without reading it.
f 147*b*	f 100*a*	539	al-Ma'mún's order about the wealth left by ᶜAmr b. Masᶜada.
"	"	540	al-Muᶜtaṣim's similar statement about the legacy of a noble.
"	"	541	Shápúr-i-Dhu'l-Aktáf's answer to the complaint of the people of Iṣṭakhr.
"	"	542	Núshírwán's intention to hold a council of 100 wise men, opposed by his nobles.
"	"	543	Núshírwán's 11,000 pensioners and his unpaid army's demand against them.
"	"	544	Sultan Maḥmúd's decision in favour of the army against the civilians.
"	"	545	Núshírwán's advice to one of his silly courtiers.
f 148*a*	f 100*b*	546	Kisrá's advice to the invading army at the death of a rebel Qayṣar of Rúm.
"	"	547	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Yaḥyá Kháqán awaits a lucky moment for forwarding public papers to al-Mutawakkil.
"	"	548	Núshírwán's angel of victory in the garb of an old man clothed in white garments.
f 148*b*	"	549	Sultan Maḥmúd's reply to the Wazír at his hint about the reward of 100,000 *Dinárs* to the Amír of Jurján.
"	f 101*a*	550	Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid's impartial decision in an acute contest between two nobles.
"	"	551	Ṭamgháj Khán, the Great, orders the hand of a thief to be cut off.
f 149*a*	"	552	Ṭamgháj Khán Ibráhím ibn al-Ḥusayn ashamed of a peasant whose complaint he did not hear.
"	"	553	Sultan Tukush b. Íl Arslán Khwárazmsháh dismisses Bakhtiyár, the governor of Ṭús (a play on the words Bakhti-yár and Ráyi-gán).
"	"	554	The above Sultan orders the remission of taxes for crosssing the river Ámúy.
"	"	555	The same Sultan orders the remission of taxes at the request of the poets of Bukhárá.
"	"	556	Ṣadr-i-Jahán ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz b. ᶜUmar saves the honour of a foreign scholar in Samarqand.
f 149*b*	f 101*b*	557	Another instance of his generosity.
"	"	558	Sultan [Sanjar's] reply to a complaint against one of his officials who had built a palace in Raqqa [or Marw].

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 149*b*	f 101*b*	559	Amír Ismáʿíl the Sámáníd's advice to the invading army of Khurásán.
"	"	560	A Christian monk lodges his appeal for justice through ash-Shaʿbí in the court of ʿAbdu'l-Malik.
"	"	561	ʿAmr b. Layth reminded by a sage that life consists, not in years, but in fame. (The poets al-Mutanabbí and Saná'í cited).
f 150*a*	"	562	Ruqayya, an ʿAlawí lady-scholar, of Nishápúr, rebuts ʿAmr b. Layth by reciting a counter-verse from the Qur'án.
"	f 102*a*	563	The eloquent plea of a blind old man in the court of al-Mutawakkil.
"	"	564	Afrásiyáb's reply to his rivals, the four sons of Farídún.
			The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XI: On the Sagacity of eminent persons.
f 151*b*	"	565	Short Introduction: Choice of Adam at Jibrá'íl's offer of the three heavenly gifts.
"	f 102*b*	566	Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide charged with misappropriation and peculation, acquitted and rewarded by al-Manṣúr.
f 152*a*	"	567	The conquest of Kúfa by Harthama b. 'Aʿyan prophesied by himself.
"	"	568	The clever trick of Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid upon Yaḥyá b. Aktham before al-Ma'mún.
"	f 103*a*	569	Ibráhím Mawṣilí's ingenious device to prevent calamity falling on Fadhl b. Marwán, the minister of Muʿtaṣim.
f 152*b*	"	570	Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide divines the secret of Hárún 'r-Rashíd.
"	"	571	Jaʿfar the Barmecide foretells his own doom and discovers Hárún's evil intention.
"	"	572	The clairvoyance of the Caliph ʿUmar on the occasion of Naháwand. (Anec. repeated, see above, I. iii. 79).
"	"	573	The Caliph ʿÁlí's lines on his own murderer, ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Muljam.
"	f 103*b*	574	The claims of the ʿAbbásids manifested in as-Saffáḥ and al-Manṣúr before their accession.
f 153*a*	"	575	The two alleged reasons for the enmity of Walíd b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik towards ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAbbás.
"	"	576	al-Manṣúr selects Baghdád as the site of his capital after an examination of its soil.
"	"	577	ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán's farewell to his favourite slave-girl and the clever guesses of the poet Kuthayyir.
f 153*b*	f 104*a*	578	Muḥammad b. Simáʿa and Imám Sháfiʿí's right guesses.
"	"	579	Imám Sháfiʿí's search for knowledge and his experiments in the science of physiognomy and his correct readings. (The *Kitábu'l-Firása* is mentioned in this connection, see above, p. 100).
"	"	580	Abu'l-Ḥusayn or Ḥasan Daylamí's experience with a psycho-analyst of Antioch.
"	"	581	Abú Saʿíd Kharráz doubts the honesty of a Dervish and is exposed.
"	"	582	Khayr-i-Nassáj and Junayd of Baghdád read one another's thoughts.
f 154*a*	"	583	Abú Bakr-i-Shiblí burns the robe of ʿAbdu'llah Rází along with his cap, as a punishment and disciplinary measure.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES,
f 154*a*	f 104*b*	584	Junayd of Baghdád and Sariyyu's-Saqaṭí; the former's first sermon and the conversion of a Christian.
"	"	585	Ibráhím Khawwaṣ points out a Jew in his meeting and thereby converts him.
"	"	586	Physiognomists tell the Caliph Hárún about the true parentage of his suppositítious son.
f 154*b*	"	587	The story of the Jinnís and the lad from the Banú Jusham.
"	"	588	The two brothers of Banú Asad, their companion, strange occurrences, and augury.
"	f 105*a*	589	The young physiognomist Aflímún (Polemon) reads the true nature of Hippocrates the philosopher, (the *Kitáb'ul-Firása* is referred to as the first work of its kind, see above p. 100).
f 155*a*	f 105*b*	590	ʿAlí b. Jahm, the poet, relates a story before al-Mutawakkil about the communion with spirits and information derived secretly through them.
f 155*b*	"	591	Abú Umámatu'l-Báhilí's quest for a true religion and his acceptance of Islam at the hands of the Prophet.
f 156*a*	f 106*a*	592	ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAbbás realises the truth of the predictions of an old soothsayer.
"	"	593	How the Caliph ʿUthmán's aunt predicts his marriage with Ruqayya and his faith in the Prophet.
f 156*b*	f 106*b*	594	A skilful lad challenges a party of fowlers, of whom Abu'l-Ḥusayn ʿArúḏhi was one, and catches birds without nets and surprises them.
"	"	595	The prophecy of Abú Ayyúb about the future greatness of his son, Sulaymán b. Wahb and the downfall of the son of the reigning Wazír Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.
"	"	596	Another version of the same story.
f 157*a*	f 107*a*	597	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ziyád erects an inn at Baṣra called the Dáru'l-Bayḏhá', and an Arab makes a prediction.
"	"	598	Mulázim b. Ḥárith Ḥanafí's story of a young prisoner who takes an omen and is delivered from the prison of Ḥajjáj. (*T. F. S.* pt. I, p. 127—8).
f 157*b*	"	599	A shrewd guess of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán about Ibráhím b. ʿAbdu'llah, the governor of Ahwáz.
"	"	600	Aḥmad b. Yazíd the secretary tells a story of Músá b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik's foreknowledge and the warning given by him to one of his governors named Shujáʿ.
"	"	601	al-Manṣúr guesses rightly about the buyer of a big fish, that he must be very rich, and thereby finds the man to have been bribed.
"	f 107*b*	602	al-Manṣúr detects a miser who concealed his wealth, and posed as a beggar.
f 158*a*	"	603	Three clever men detect a thief of Ahwáz and recover the stolen purse of a trader of Baghdád.
"	"	604	Another story of a boy who traced a blind negro thief.
"	"	605	Hárúnu'r-Rashíd's letter sent to ʿAmr b. Masʿada through his brother Abú ʿUbáda, the consultations of the two brothers, and Hárún's foresight in telling them what passed between them.
f 158*b*	f 108*a*	606	Yaḥyá b. Faḏhl, the Barmecide, before his trial predicts the future of the ʿAbbásids, and recommends Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid the Squint to Faḏhl b. Sahl: The story of the letter torn in two pieces.
f 159*a*	f 108*b*	607	Zubayda's taunt and Hárúnu'r-Rashíd's prediction about the future greatness of Ma'mún and his succession.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 159*a*	f 109*a*	608	Muḥammad b. Naṣr's story of Músá b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik ʿAbbásí's sagacity.
f 159*b*	„	609	Story of the constant twitching of the eye-lids as indicating good-luck.
„	„	610	Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámáníd raises Abú ʿAlí Chagháni to the rank of a governor, and predicts that he will turn a traitor to his sons later on.
„	„	611	Abú Naṣr Mushkání points out to Sultan Maḥmúd why he cannot enjoy the pleasures of his beautiful garden at Balkh.
f 160*a*	f 109*b*	612	Sultan Maḥmúd foresees the future of his empire and reads the character of his two sons Masʿúd and Muḥammad. (Story related by Abú Naṣr Mushkání). The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XII: On sound judgments which enhanced the success of Kings.
			Introduction in which the excellence of mature judgment is shown. (Mutanabbí is cited and the author's own work, the *Kitáb-i-Mádayiḥu's-Sulṭán*, is referred to).
„	„	613	A philosopher's opinion about the comparative merits of wisdom and bravery.
f 160*b*	f 110*a*	614	Abú ʿAbdi'llah advises al-Manṣúr to train al-Hádí his son in his own presence.
„	„	615	Ṭamghái, the governor of Damascus, detained from the holy pilgrimage.
„	„	616	Shír advises Abu'l-Jaysh Khúmárawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭúlún (270—282 A. H. = 883—895 A. D.) not to send his ring as a sign of truce to the defeated Kháqán-i-Muflijí, the ally of Afshín.
„	„	617	The Qayṣar of Rúm abstains from invading the country of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán while he is engaged in war with Muṣʿab.
f 161*a*	„	618	Háshim b. Aḥmad prevails upon Ḥasan b. Ismáʿíl not to cook any dish for the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, lest he might be accused of poisoning.
„	f 110*b*	619	The Prophet solves the riddle of the resetting of the Black Stone.
„	„	620	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir proves loyal to his master the Caliph al-Ma'mún, who appointed him as the Governor of Egypt.
f 161*b*	f 111*a*	621	The advice of Abú Manṣúr Ṭalḥa to the Amír Ismáʿíl the Sámánid against his brother Naṣr.
f 162*a*	„	622	How Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí was saved from the wrath of Sultan Maḥmúd.
f 162*b*	f 111*b*	623	Sulaymán the Prophet refuses the cup of Eternal Life.
„	f 112*a*	624	The misfortune of al-Amín due to the lack of experienced counsellors.
f 163*a*	„	625	Diw-i-Gáw-Páy, the king of the giants, and the counsel of his three ministers.
„	„	626	ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán advised to appoint his son to the Department of doles, public grants and war plunder, in order to win popularity.
f 163*b*	f 112*b*	627	ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla Masʿúd the Ghaznawid collects the corrupted Indian coin and issues genuine ones, in order to restore public peace.
„	„	628	The king of Zábulistán decoyed to ruin by a faithful Wazír of his opponent the Rája of Qannúj.
„	f 113*a*	629	A hoax played upon Sultan Maḥmúd, during his campaign of Somnath, by the Hindús.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 164*a*	f 113*a*	630	The Amír Ismáʿíl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid burns the letters sent to ʿAmr b. Layth by the traitors in his own camp.
"	"	631	Furúʿan or Furughan (?), the field-marshal of ʿAmr b. Layth, invades Shakáwand and cheats Kamlú (?), the Rája of India.
"	f 113*b*	632	Sabuktagín plays a trick upon Abú ʿAlí Símjúrí and defeats him.
f 164*b*	"	633	ʿAmr b. Layth hangs an old counsellor of the Amír of Sístán lest he might dislodge him one day.
"	"	634	Sultan Maḥmúd's trick against the fugitive slaves who joined the rebellious party of Khalaf b. Aḥmad of Sístán.
"	f 114*a*	635	The story of the two slaves of Alexander, Nadhír the punisher and Bashír the rewarder, as narrated by Qábús b. Washmgír.
f 165*a*	"	636	The reason of Khwaja ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamíd's imprisonment. (The *Kitáb Ganj-i-Khirad* of the same person is referred to).
"	"	637	Alexander adopts the institution of Mulúku'ṭ-Ṭawa'if at the advice of Aristotle. (Anec. repeated, see *supra* Anec. 154).
"	"	638	Dihqán-i-Hishám pretends illness and saves his property from the machinations of ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá Máhan.
"	f 114*b*	639	The Sultan Maḥmúd trapped in a covert after his victory at Khwárazm escapes cleverly incognito.
f 165*b*	"	640	Muʿtaṣim sends a poisoned turban to ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir and invites him through a beautiful girl, and Ismáʿíl his counsellor's warning.
"	"	641	Aḥnaf b. Qays's desire to cope with ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ in the "Arbitration", and ʿAlí's absolute refusal to give him the power of mediation.
f 166*a*	f 115*a*	642	Maʿn b. Zá'ida's strategem against a governor of Yaman to gain the favour of al-Manṣúr.
"	"	643	Ḥamid-i-ʿAbbás imprisoned by Ismáʿíl-i-Bulbul, released at the intercession of an old friend. T. F. S.
"	f 115*b*	644	How Aḥmad b. ʿÍsá b. Zayd and Qásim b. ʿAlí, the father of the claimant Muḥammad Abi'l-Qásim, escape from prison. T. F. S.
f 166*b*	"	645	Ma'mún's preference for his Shíʿa followers from Khurásán, their incapacity, and the appointment of the people of ʿIráq for the settlement of the revenue. (*T. F. S.* pt. II, ch. vii, p. 8).
"	"	646	Rupture between Saʿíd b. Makhlad and the Amír Abú Núḥ at the court of al-Mutawakkil, and their reconciliation through their friends' diplomacy.
f 167*a*	f 116*a*	647	The ruin of Baní Qurayẓa due to the rejection of Kaʿb b. Asad al-Quraẓí's proposals. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 685—6).
"	"	648	The disagreement of Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma of the tribe of Jusham and Málik b. ʿAwf of the tribe of Naṣr, and their defeat and ruin. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 840—6).
f 167*b*	"	649	The Prophet approves the plan of retreating quietly, if the Battle of Badr proved a failure. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 439—40).
"	"	650	Abú Jahl rejects the counsel of ʿUmayr b. Wahb Jumaḥí before the Battle of Badr, and is defeated in the end. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 441—2).
"	f 116*b*	651	The Prophet orders a hasty march to Madína, as a counter-stroke to the threat of ʿAbdu'llah b. Ubayy b. Salúl who wanted to create a split between the "Anṣárs" and the "Muhájirs". (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 726—7).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 168*a*	f 117*a*	652	The dissatisfaction of the "Anṣáis" at the Prophet's lavishing rewards on the new converts of Quraysh after the victory of Mecca, and the Prophet's soothing appeal. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 880—882, 885—6).
„	„	653	ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ's slackness and the Caliph ʿUmar's strong determination to stop heresy at the death of the Prophet.
f 168*b*	f 117*b*	654	Khálid b. Walíd's campaign against the impostor Musaylima.
„	„	655	Nomination of generals by the Caliph ʿUmar and Khalid b. Walíd's victory over Rúm.
„	f 118*a*	656	Khálid b. Walíd captures a band of unbelievers that lived in the midst of a desert.
f 169*a*	„	657	Khálid b. Walíd's capture of Damascus.
„	„	658	The disaster to the Muslim army under Abú ʿUbayda a<u>th</u>-<u>Th</u>aqafí in one of his Persian campaigns.
„	„	659	The advance of Qaʿqáʿ, and the victory of Jalúlá.
f 169*b*	f 118*b*	660	ʿUmar's determination to fight at Naháwand and strike at the heart of the Persian Empire immediately, against the malicious advice of the Marzubán.
„	„	661	ʿUmar and Qays b. Aḥnaf's plan to give a deathblow to the remaining power and prestige of Persia.
„	„	662	ʿAlí's proposal about the arrangement and leadership of the Persian campaign, which was accepted by the Caliph ʿUmar.
„	f 119*a*	663	A strategem of Ṭalḥa for the evacuation of a fortress on the occasion of the Battle of Naháwand.
f 170*a*		664	Aḥnaf follows a suggestion of one of his soldiers and defeats Yazdigird.
„	„	665	Heraclius's advice to his men on the approach of the Muslim army.
f 170*b*	„	666	The Caliph ʿU<u>th</u>mán's consultation regarding the improvement of the Provincial administration and the management of his licutenants.
„	f 119*b*	667	The Caliph ʿAlí's help to ʿU<u>th</u>mán in the administration of the Caliphate.
„	„	668	The Caliph ʿAlí's persistence in deposing Muʿáwiya against the sound judgment of ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAbbás.
f 171*a*	f 120*a*	669	Aḥnaf b. Qays's promise of support to ʿAlí against ʿÁ'ísha.
„	„	670	The intrigues of Muʿáwiya against Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿAbbád, the governor of Egypt, to weaken the power of ʿAlí.
f 171*b*	f 120*b*	671	Muʿáwiya strengthens his own cause under pretence of the avenging the murder of ʿUthmán the Caliph.
f 172*a*	„	672	Negotiations and promises between Muʿáwiya and ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ for the purpose of overthrowing ʿAlí.
„	f 121*a*	673	ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ's diplomatic stroke at the close of the Battle of Ṣiffín. "The Word of God as the sole arbitrator".
f 172*b*	„	674	ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ's hypocrisy in the "Arbitration".
f 173*a*	f 122*a*	675	How Muʿizzu'd-Dawla suppressed the revolt of Rúzbihán the Daylamite governor of Ahwáz. The chapter ends without any praise or conclusion.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Part I, Chapter XIII: On Wiles and Stratagems in Statecraft.
f 174*a*	f 122*b*	676	Introduction. The Prophet agrees with the tactics of Nuʿaym b. Masʿúd ath-Thaqafí against the Jews of Baní Qurayẓa. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 680—2).
f 174*b*	f 123*a*	677	The encounter of the two artful personages — the Artabun or Arṭiyyun of the Byzantines and the Arṭiyyun of the Arabs, *i. e.*, ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ.
"	"	678	ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿÁmir besieges Níshápúr, finds it impregnable, but at last forces the enemy to evacuate it by a stratagem. (Cf. the fall of Troy).
"	f 123*b*	679	The celebrated revenge of Zabbá against Jadhímatu'l-Abrash (the *Kitáb-i-Kalila wa Dimna* is referred to).
f 175*b*	f 124*a*	680	The hoax of Majjáʿa b. Murára the Musaylimite against Khálid b. Walíd to save his tribe.
"	f 124*b*	681	Tactics of Saʿd b. Abí Waqqás about reinforcement, and his great victory at Qádisiyya.
f 176*a*	"	682	Trouble in ʿIráq and Khurásán in the time of the Caliph ʿUthman, and the artifice of ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿÁmir in defeating Qárún.
f 176*b*	f 125*a*	683	Imám Ḥasan abdicates the Caliphate and Muʿáwiya prevails upon Qays and Saʿd-i-ʿUbáda to acknowledge him as the leader.
"	"	684	The poisoning of Imám Ḥasan at the instigation of Muʿáwiya.
f 177*a*	f 125*b*	685	The suppression of the Khárijites by Muhallab b. Abí Ṣufra.
"	"	686	The advance of Qutayba b. Muslim towards Khurásán and Transoxiana, and the capture of Khwarazm in the days of Ḥajjáj.
"	f 126*a*	687	Qutayba and his brother Ṣáliḥ force the surrender of Samarqand.
f 177*b*	"	688	The old woman who duped Hárúnu'r-Rashíd and got a thousand dínárs from him for showing the hidden place of Ibráhím Mahdí, his rival.
"	"	689	A Marzubán saves his life by a clever trick before the Caliph ʿUmar.
"	f 126*b*	690	The surrender of a besieged army whose provisions were destroyed by the malicious agency of Alexander.
f 178*a*	"	691	The fable of the powerful serpent and the artful mouse. (Taken from an Indian source).
"	"	692	How Qubád cheated the thieves and recovered his jewellery by threats.
"	"	693	The Rája of Gujrát and Nahrwála called Jaysingh threatens the Rája of India, called Duwarka (?), by exerting magical power.
f 178*b*	f 127*a*	694	Harthama's hoax upon Abu's-Saráyá about the news of the death of the Caliph.
"	f 128*a*	695	How Qábús b. Washmgír, having been murdered by his son, took posthumous vengeance by poisoning him (the story of the *Ḥabbu'l-Jimáʿ*).
f 179*a*	"	696	How Muḥammad b. Abu'l-Qásim b. ʿAlí b. Ḥusayn escaped by the help of a rope from the prison of Muʿtaṣim (*T. F. S.*)
f 179*b*		697	The arrest of Abú Muslim and his treacherous assassination. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá-i-Baní ʿAbbás* as the source). See above, p 47.
"	f 128*a*	698	Ḥasan-i Zayd ʿAlawí selected as leader in Ṭabaristán and the retreat of the army of Sulaymán b. Muḥammad the governor of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir.
"	f 128*b*	699	Yaʿqúb b. Layth's trick with Runabil (?). The capture of Bust, the murder of Ṣáliḥ b. Naṣr, his master, and the annexation of Sístán.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES
f 180*a*	f 129*a*	700	Qásim the ruler of Herát revolts against Yaʿqúb b. Layth, his suppression at the hands of Jaghlán, and the annexation of Kirmán to Herát.
"	"	701	Yaʿqúb b. Layth's advance towards Fárs, the capture of Shíráz, imprisonment of Mustaʿín's generals, ʿAlí b. Ḥusayn and Ṭawq b. Qays, and recognition of their power by the Caliph Muntaṣir and the overthrow of the Ṭáhirids.
f 180*b*	"	702	Balkátigín's advance upon Ghazna, Abú Isḥáq, the Wazír of the Sámánids, cheated, and Sabuktigín's skill and bravery displayed.
f 182*b*	f 129*b*	703	Afshín excites rebellion through Mankajú; Muʿtaṣim sends Musʿab b. Zubayr to suppress the revolt; Afshín's trial and execution.
"		704	Sultan Maḥmúd tricks Abu'l-Fadhl a spy of Abú ʿAlí Símjúrí and defeats him.
"	f 130*a*	705	ʿUmlúq the tyrant of Yaman, his murder at the hands of Aswad b. Dihqán, and the vengeance taken for him by Khán Tubbaʿ. — The eyes of Warqá' of Yamáma.
f 182*a*	"	706	The Emperor of Rúm asks help from the King of Abyssinia against Dhú-Nuwás, who defeats Aryáṭ, the Abyssinian general, by means of a stratagem.
"	"	707	Abraha defeats Dhú-Nuwás and revolts against Najáshí. His solemn vow and its fulfilment.
"	"	708	Nuʿmán captures the fort of Nahávand by a surprise attack, and the great victory of the Muslims over the Persians.
f 181*b*	f 130*b*	709	Ṭáhir the Ambidexter defeats ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá Máhán and decoys al-Amín's army to ruin.
"	"	710	Yaʿqúb b. Layth's early life as a robber and his voluntary levies.
f 181*a*	f 131*a*	711	Another instance of his blackmailing a caravan from Multán.
f 181*a*, f 183*a*	"	712	How Yaʿqúb b. Layth equipped his gang with horses by plundering a caravan from Baṣra and Ahwáz.
"	f 131*b*	713	Yaʿqúb b. Layth in the service of Ṣáliḥ b. Naṣr, his treachery towards the sons of Ḥayyán the Khárijite, the ruin of Kuthayyir (b.) Warqá' and the strengthening of Yaʿqúb b. Layth at the expense of both.
"	"	714	Yaʿqúb b. Layth and Ṣáliḥ b. Naṣr and the defeat of Muḥammad (b.) Ibráhim's army by a mean trick.
"	"	715	Yaʿqúb b. Layth breaks with his master Ṣáliḥ b. Naṣr, the ruler of Sístán, and creates dissension by embroiling the Sajzís with the Bustís, the two parties of the army of Ṣáliḥ.
f 183*b*	f 132*a*	716	The vain attempts of Ṣáliḥ b. Naṣr to recover Sístán from Yaʿqúb b. Layth.
"		717	Yaʿqúb b. Layth's ordeal of basking in the sun before setting out for the conquest of Herát in summer. (Anecdote found in pt. II, ch. xvii. 1452).
"		718	Yaʿqúb b. Layth's attack on ʾAbdu'r-Raḥmán the Khárijite, and the capture of the fort of Búsang (?) when winter and snow set in.
"		719	How Yaʿqúb b. Layth deceived the ambassadors of Muḥammad-i-Wáṣil, and ultimately defeated the army of Muḥammad and conquered his territory.
f 184*a*	f 132*a*	720	Muḥammad-i-Wáṣil and Abú Jaʿfar unite forces against Yaʿqúb b. Layth and invade Dínawar; ʿIyádh b. ʿAmr the governor of Dínawar betrays them and orders a general massacre.

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f 184*a*	f 132*a*	721	Yaʿqúb b. Layth captures Kirmán, Fárs, ʿIráq and Ahwáz; the Caliph Muʿtamid's campaign against him, and the flight of Yaʿqúb ending in his death.
f 184*b*	f 132*b*	722	Garsíwaz's jealousy and his treacherous attempts to separate Afrásiyáb and Siyáwush.
„	„	723	Khushnawáz's trick against Fírúz and the destruction of the army of the latter by pit-falls.
f 185*a*	f 133*a*	724	The fable of the Lark and the Elephant.
„	„	725	The treacherous attack of Chengíz Khán on the City of Rayy and the vile massacre of 40,000 Muslims. (Probably the author was in Khurásán at this time).
„	„	726	Sultan Muʿizzu'd-Dín Muḥammad the Ghúrid's battle against Kúla at Sarhind, and his device to frighten the elephants of the enemy.
f 185*b*	„	727	The above Sultan's invasion of Khwárazm and his failure. Muḥammad in Khwárazm by a clever trick.
„		728	The mother of Khwárazmsháh stops the invasion of the Ghúrid, Sultan Muʿizzu'd-Din Muḥammad, while the King was absent with his army in Khurásán. (Author in Khwárazm).
„	f 133*a*	729	The attack of the same Ghúrid Sultan upon Khusraw-Malik, The Ghaznawid, and the annexation of Lahore to the Ghúrid Kingdom.
„	f 133*b*	730	Malik Táju'd-Dín Ḥarb of Ghazna invades Sístán and captures the fort by a trick.
„	„	731	A clever trick of a Wazír of an Indian Rája called Fúr by which he destroys the Brahmins who had conspired against his life.
f 186*a*	„	732	Sultan Maḥmúd orders his son Masʿúd to arrest a band of robbers in the forest of Khabíṣ near Ṭabas from amongst Kúçh and Balúçh.
f 186*b*	f 134*a*	733	How Sultan Masʿúd destroyed a band of robbers in Kirmán by the device of poisoned apples. (Cf. *N. S. N.*).
„	„	734	The goldsmith and the carpenter of Ádharbáyján who stole an idol from Constantinople and their disloyalty to each other.
f 187*a*	f 134*b*	735	How Maslama b. Abdu'l-Malik forces the evacuation of an impregnable fortress in Rúm. The chapter ends with a short eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter XIV. On the Able Wazírs and their statesmanship.
„	„	736	Introduction. Adhudu'd-Dawla defeats Shamsu'l-Maʿálí Qábús b. Washmgír by the help of the minister, the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád.
f 187*b*	f 135*a*	737	The Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád propounds four methods of subjugating the enemy before fighting.
„	„	738	The Qayṣar of Rúm releases the prisoners of war of Ruknu'd-Dawla, being afraid of the shrewdness of the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád, his veteran counsellor.
„	„	739	Congratulatory letter of Sahl b. Hárún to Ḥasan b. Sahl on his appointment as the Wazír of the Caliph al-Ma'mún after the assassination of his own brother, the late Wazír.

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f 187*b*	f 135*a*	740	Adhudu'd-Dawla sends a sword to his Wazír Abú ᶜAlí Khaṭír as a warning, and the Wazír's challenge by throwing down his pen in reply.
"	"	741	Shamsu'l-Maᶜálí Qábús b. Washmgír endorses the letter that passed between Fakhru'd-Dawla and the Wazír of Níshápúr with the remark that 'Pen' and 'Sword' are useless unless guided by sound judgment.
"	"	742	A Persian Wazír changes the issue of a battle by cleverly putting a dot under the word سياداران in the order issued by the king for the recall of the army (see Anec. 1152).
"	f 135*b*	743	The Caliph Hárún appoints ᶜAlí b. ᶜÍsá b. Mahán as the governor of Khurásán against the sound advice of Yaḥyá b. Khálid, the Barmecide, and repents for it in the end.
f 188*a*	"	744	An account of the rise of the great Wazír Niẓamu'l-Mulk, who first served under ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Qifáᶜí (?) or ᶜAzízu'd-Dín Fuqqáᶜí (?) and was then given the charge of the revenue of Malikshah the Saljúq.
"	"	745	How the Niẓámu'l-Mulk rewards the blind man by endowing him with an estate, in recompense for the money he had once stolen from the mosque.
"	f 136*a*	746	How the Niẓámu'l-Mulk rescues Malikshah the Saljúq who had accidentally fallen into the clutches of the Qayṣar of Rúm and defeats him and obtains from him cleverly a large piece of land in Constantinople for erecting a convent. (The latter portion of this anecdote is quoted in the *Tajáribu's-Salaf*. See Browne, G. or. 3. f 138 *b*).
f 188*b*	"	747	How Qásim b. ᶜAbdu'llah's secrets leaked out and how he detected the secret agent and regained the favour of the Caliph al-Muᶜtadhid.
f 189*a*	f 136*b*	748	How Músá b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik, the Wazír of al-Mutawakkil, averts disaster by stealing the order of the Caliph from ᶜAttáb and pleading guilty.
"	f 137*a*	749	How Aḥmad [b.] Abú Khálid warns ᶜAmr b. Masᶜada of the displeasure of the Caliph al-Ma'mún, and explains before the Caliph his own obligations to Aḥmad.
f 189*b*	"	750	A witty remark of an official newly appointed by Sulaymán b. Wahb stops his master from the bad policy of changing officials suddenly.
"	"	751	The Wazír Abu'l-ᶜAbbás ibnu'l-Furát dissuades the Caliphs Muktafí and Muqtadir from granting fertile lands to his favourites, the Amír Bú Ṣayqání and Mufliḥ.
"	f 137*b*	752	Qásim b. ᶜAbdu'llah, the Wazír of Muᶜtadhid blackens a yellow spot on his dress, thinking that an ink-stain on the garment of the Wazír was not so bad as on that of any other person.
"	"	753	A Wazír of an Indian Ráy prefers to squint in the presence of the king for twenty years, lest he might be suspected of indecent behaviour on a past occasion.
f 190*a*		754	A capable Wazír of Núshírwan, when maliciously charged with misgovernment, asks the king for a barren piece of twenty Jaríbs, as pension allowance. The king, finding none, is convinced of the good management of the Wazir and restores him to favour.
"		755	A wealth-amassing Indian Ráy advised persistently by his able Wazir to

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			muster armies against his enemies. — The demonstration and counter-demonstration of a bowl of .... (?) and flies.
f 190*a*		756	Abu'l-Qásim Isrá'íl advises Abú Ayyúb Sulaymán b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymán al-Múriyání to send Khálid the Barmecide to Khurásán, and thus keep himself safe from the danger of poisoning the Caliph's al-Manṣúr's ears.
f 190*b*		757	Muᶜáwiya b. ᶜAbdu'llah beseeches the Caliph al-Mahdí not to kill ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ḥasan the ᶜAlawid, and thereby receives blessings from the Caliph ᶜAlí in dream.
„	f 137*b*	758	The bold reply of Abú Manṣúr Zamání or Rayyání, the Wazír of the Sultan Ṭughril, when asked by the king the cause of delay — Homage to the Lord first, the service of the king next.
f 191*a*	„	759	A contrast of the two Wazír's, the Khwájá Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí and the Niẓámu'l-Mulk: the former refuses to present a slave to the Sultan Maḥmúd, whereas the latter enlists two thousand slave-guards in the service of Malikshäh at a slight hint.
„	„	760	The reply of a Wazír of a Persian king about the cause of the popularity of his father's rule — his sense of opportune action.
„	„	761	Buzurjmihr's ideal of a Wazír and his qualifications.
„	*	762	Fadhl b. Sahl, the Wazír, stops the Caliph al-Ma'mún from playing chess, while urgent state affairs required his attention, which act is first resented by the Caliph, but is ultimately appreciated.
f 191*b*	f 138*a*	763	al-Múriyání's dishonesty about the grant of land to Ṣáliḥ the Miskín, and Khálid the Barmecide's good opportunity to win the Caliph al-Manṣúr's favour and overthrow his rival.
„		764	Ḥasan b. Aḥmad the Wazír of Abu'l-Jaysh Ṭúlún cautiously stops the payment of rewards ordered by the king in drunkenness.
„	f 138*a*	765	ᶜAlí b. Haytham or Háshim's (?) observation on the rise and fall and pomp and poverty of Ḥasan b. Sahl the Wazír: at one time a leather bag was all he possessed, and at another a thousand camels were not sufficient for loading his baggage.
f 192*a*	„	766	ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd, the Wazír of Marwán b. Muḥammad — his firm loyalty to his master to the last.
„	„	767	The firm friendship and mutual sacrifice of Ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ and ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd.
„	f 138*b*	768	Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, the Wazír, Baᶜalbak the cryer of prayer, and Sallám the Ḥádí, the servants of the deposed Marwán brought as captives before the Caliph al-Manṣúr, who orders the assassination of the former and releases the other two.
„	„	769	The disgrace of Fadhl b. Rabíᶜ as a warning to the higher officials.
f 192*b*	„	770	Poverty of Khálid the Barmecide in his early days, and Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid al-Aḥwal's timely help, and Khálid's advice to his son and how Yaḥyá observed it.
f 193*a*	*	771	Ḥasan b. Sahl abides by the slip of his pen in awarding 100,000 *Dirhams* to a needy water-bearer, lest the correction of it might suggest his weakness.
„	f 139*a*	772	Abu'l-Ḥasan ibnu'l-Furát, the Wazír of Muqtadir, forgives Sulaymán b. Makhlad at the invocation of his mother. (*T. F. S.*).

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f 193*a*	f 139*a*	773	Rayyán-i-Ṣalt favoured by Fadhl b. Sahl becomes very prosperous. (*T.F.S.* pt. II. ch. vii, pp. 5—7).
f 193*b*	f 139*b*	774	ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá's period of virtuous prime-ministership, in consequence of which his supplication for water in the desert is granted miraculously.
"		775	The Niẓámu'l Mulk repeatedly rewards a crook who appears at various times in various dresses, and in the end discloses his own knowledge of him.
"	f 139*b*	776	Abú ʿAlí b. Muqla, the Wazír, takes pity on Muḥammad Jár and helps him.
f 194*a*	f 140*a*	777	Muslim b. Walíd's story of Fadhl b. Sahl's bounty after he became the Wazír of the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"	"	778	Buzurjmihr blinded in prison, and how he read the puzzling letter of the Qayṣar of Rúm to Núshírwán and his restoration to office.
"		779	The incarceration of a Wazír and his twenty sons in a well; the Wazír survives and gets into the favour of the Ráy and avenges himself.
f 194*b*	f 140*a*	780	Abú Jaʿda, the Wazír of Marwan-i-Ḥimár goes over to the Abbásids, but when Marwán's head is brought before as-Saffaḥ, recognises it and calls him the late Commander of the Faithful. ʿAbbás b. ʿAlí urges that he should be put to death, but al-Manṣúr saves him, and in return he, when consulted by as-Saffaḥ, speaks in favour of al-Manṣúr's succession.
f 195*a*	f 140*b*	781	The Caliph al-Muntaṣir ashamed of a meagre reward to a poet, and Hishám the Khaṭíb's experience with Kawthar the factotum, who would not let the Caliph's son count less than 1000.
"	"	782	Like the Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí, the Khwája Abu'l-ʿAbbás Isfará'íní refuses to give up a slave, whom the Sultan Maḥmúd wanted at his banquet, and thereby ruins himself.
f 195*b*	f 141*a*	783	Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide used to ascertain the public opinion about the choice of provincial governors.
"	"	784	Yaḥyá the Barmecide's policy of choosing experienced persons for responsible offices.
"	"	785	The Caliph al-Ma'mún relates an instance of Fadhl b. Sahl's foolishness before Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide.
f 196*a*	"	786	Fadhl b. Sahl assumes the appearance of an old man at the remark of the ambassador from Rúm about his youth and experience in state-craft.
"	f 141*b*	787	Adhúdu'd-Dawla's reluctance to pay the yearly tribute to the Sámánid ruler Núḥ b. Manṣúr as contracted in the early days. Abu'l-Ḥasan b. ʿÍsá's demand and the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád's acquiescence in the established practice prevent a rupture between the Sámánids and the Buwayhids. The chapter ends without a eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XV: On the advice given by sages and holy men to rulers.
f 196*b*	f 141*b*-f 142*a*	788	Introduction. Qádhí Sawwár b. ʿAbdullah's advice to the Caliph Manṣúr about the conduct of affairs.
"	f 142*a*	789	ʿAmr b. ʿAbíd (?) tells his experience about the heirs of ʿUmar II, and Hishám the Umayyad.

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f 196*b*	f 142*a*	790	Shaqíq of Balkh's advice to Hárúnu'r-Rashíd about the duty of a Caliph.
f 197*a*	"	791	Fuḏhayl b. ʿIyaḏh's solemn advice to Hárúnu'r-Rashíd.
"	f 142*b*	792	Abú Ḥázim's holy gift to Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik the Caliph, and the birth of ʿUmar II.
"	"	793	The interview of ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Abí Nuʿaym and the Caliph al-Manṣúr.
"	"	794	ʿAmr b. ʿAbíd reminds al-Manṣúr of the story of one loaf and a dish of "Sakbá".
f 197*b*		795	Dhu'l Qarnayn's visit to a land where the people had dug graves and used to eat herbs.
"	f 142*b*	796	Sálim Sindí's advice to ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l ʿAzíz — the warning from the fall of Adam.
"	"	797	Ibnu's-Sammák's advice to Hárúnu'r-Rashíd.
"	"	798	The interview of the Caliph Hárún and Buhlúl.
"	"	799	Maḥmúd's visit to the Bímáristán of Ghazna, and a madman's pithy remark.
"	"	800	Dhu'l-Qarnayn's interview with Socrates.
f 198*a*	f 144*b*	801	Manṣúr-i-ʿAmmár saves the Qáḏhí of Baghdád from perdition by a clever suggestion.
"	f 143*a*	802	Muḥammad ibnu's-Sammák's remark awakens Hárúnu'r-Rashíd's conscience.
"	"	803	Hárúnu'r-Rashíd's visit to ʿAbdu'r-Razzáq Ṣanʿání, Sufyán b. ʿUtba and Faḏhl b. ʿUtba during his pilgrimage, and the latter's observations to him.
"		804	Khálíd b. Ṣafwán's grave advice to the Caliph Hisham b. ʿAbdu'l Malik.
f 198*b*	f 143*a*	805	Ibráhim b. Adham's four instructions to a sinner for his atonement in the form of a story.
"	"	806	Abu'l-ʿAbbás the commander-in-chief's question to Abú ʿAlí Daqqáq.
"	f 143*b*	807	The four accursed things that rust the soul, according to the saint Muḥammad Wásiʿ.
f 199*a*	"	808	The three things forbidden by Luqmán the Philosopher to his son, and how the son tested the wisdom of the prohibition.
"	"	809	A judge's unjustifiable mourning at the loss of his son, and how a monk's admonitory question put him right.
"		810	Shaykh Abú Ḥafṣ-i-Kabír consoled by the touching remarks of a madman and a singer.
"	f 143*b*	811	The advice of a sage to a Persian king; (the similes to be noted).
f 199*b*	f 144*a*	812	Núshírwán the Just rewards two persons according to the comparative merit of their sayings.
"	"	813	ʿUmar II's pithy counsel to his lieutenants.
"	"	814	Núshírwán's dying injunction to Hurmuz about the wording of the inscription on his grave.
"	"	815	Shaqíq of Balkh's three counsels to a camel-rider, who attempted, and was able, to walk on the water.
"	"	816	Núshírwán's interview with a secluded monk and his advice to him.
f 200*a*	"	817	Aristotle's dying advice to his son to acquire the imperishable glory, *i.e.*, Knowledge.
"	"	818	Ḥátim Aṣamm's ordeal to control the birds on a tree before he is fit to preach.

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f 200*a*	f 144*b*	819	The admonition of a traveller dervish to a learned divine.
"	"	820	The submission of a proud divine and preacher of ʿIraq at the warning of Ibráhím b. Adham.
"	"	821	Abú Ḥázim Laffáf's experience of 60 years and his dying words about the efficacy of trust in God.
f 200*b*	f 145*a*	822	Another pithy counsel of a holy man to his disciples
"	"	823	Manṣúr-i-ʿAmmár's sermon to a king.
"	"	824	A slave-girl reproaches the Caliph Mahdí for his pomp; the Caliph is deeply moved.
"	"	825	The fable of two kinds of disasters; inference therefrom for the Caliph al-Mahdí.
"	"	826	ʿAbdu'llah b. Mubárak gives five reasons for the corruption in Islam.
f 201*a*	f 145*b*	827	Wahb b. Munabbih recites to his audience Khiḏhr's advice to Moses.
"	"	828	The advice of a Prophet to a Jewish philosopher who had collected and studied many books.
"	"	829	The four renunciations enjoined by Ḥátim-i-Aṣamm to a disciple of his.
"	"	830	Haṣan of Baṣra's reply to one of the letters of ʿUmar II.
f 201*b*	f 146*a*	831	Jealousy of ʿIsám-i-Yúsuf the Muftí of Balkh towards Ḥátim-i-Aṣamm.
"	"	832	Shaqíq of Balkh's advice to an ascetic.
"	"	833	Shaqíq of Balkh's enumeration of four things which save from perdition.
"	"	834	The clothing of an orphan by Sariyyu's-Saqaṭí, and Maʿrúf's blessings on him.
f 202*a*	"	835	The reception and first sermon of Yaḥyá b. Muʿádh Razí in Balkh.
"	f 146*b*	836	Ibráhím b. Adham's advice to a person.
"	"	837	Ibráhím b. Adham's advice to an elderly man. The chapter ends with a short praise of the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter XVI. On pithy and judicious answers given by wise men.
"	"	838	Introduction. The Cailph ʿUmar excuses a sinner, when he reminds him of his neglect of three injunctions.
"	"	839	Happy retorts of a drunkard to the Amír of Balkh.
f 202*b*	f 147*a*	840	The retaliation of the Imám Ḥasan against Muʿáwiya.
"	"	841	Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya's reply about the Caliph ʿAlí's sending him to the field and keeping Ḥasan and Ḥusayn at home.
"	"	842	ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAbbás supports his prediction about the rule of ʿAbdullah b. Muṭíʿ and ʿAbdu'llah b. Ḥanẓala by a clever reply, when challanged by questioners.
"	"	843	Admonishing reply of Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya to al-Ḥajjáj.
"	"	844	Hishám b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik cooled down by the pointed reply of a convicted servant.
"	"	845	The three occasions upon which the Caliph al-Ma'mún was reduced to silence in spite of his ready wit.
f 203*a*	"	846	ʿAbdu'l-Masiḥ, the archbishop of Ḥíra, gives evasive replies to Khálid b. Walíd while settling peace terms.
"	f 147*b*	847 bis	Witty remarks of a divine about cheese on and off the table of a Caliph.
"	"	847a	The Caliph Muʿáwiya's three piquant replies to Iyás, when three of his defects were pointed out to him.

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f 203*a*	f 147*b*	848	Jaḥáma (?) the Zindíq, when brought before the Caliph Hárún and questioned about his heretical conduct, acquits himself by blaming the Caliph in return.
"	"	849	The conspiracy of Dihqán of Baḥrayn against Mughíra b. Shu'ba, and the latter's counterstroke before the Caliph 'Umar.
f 203*b*	"	850	Brutal rejoinder of a rich pilgrim, a notable of Bukhárá, to a poor pilgrim, who had impudently challanged him. (Cf. Qábús-Nama, Litho. Ṭihrán. P 20/1, Anec. same)
"		851	Why Mu'áfá (?) b Nu'aym and Ma'bad b. Ṭawq were saluted respectively by the Baní 'Anbar.
"	f 147*b*	852	Sátigín, the Turkish guard, defends the Turks from the charge of insolence by asking his critics the fate of the first four Caliphs, when there was no fear of Turks.
"	f 148*a*	853	The Qaḏhí Shurayḥ b. 'Abdu'llah's moral courage and bold replies to the Caliph al-Mahdí.
"	"	854	Bárbad the Minstrel in jealousy kills his slave musician, and Parwíz's order for his execution is averted by a clever reply.
"	"	855	Another witty reply of Bárbad, at which Parwíz releases a condemned courtier and rewards Barbad. (Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118 and also *T. F. S.* pt. I, ch. IV, pp. 72—3).
f 204*a*	"	856	Murra (?) a friend of al-Ḥajjáj passes a witty remark about the government officials while blaming the scribes.
"	"	857	The wilful silence of Ṯhumáma b. Ashras when the Wazír Faḏhl b. Sahl wanted a corroboration of his denunciation of 'Abdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuza'í, and his clever defence.
"	f 148*b*	858	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán appreciates the explanation of Ibn-i-'Uyayna on his refusal of the offer of Egypt.
"	"	859	Ma'n b. Zá'ida's happy replies to the Caliph Hárún's queries.
"	"	860	'Attábí, the poet's, mixed condolence and congratulation, at the death of al-Hádí and the accession of Hárún to the Caliphate.
"	"	861	ash-Sha'bí as an ambassador to the court of the Qayṣar of Rúm, and how he removed the unfavourable impression produced by the Qayṣar's letter on al-Ma'mún (?). (Cf. Ibn Khallikán. Wüst. Biog. no. 316, story ascribed to Sha'bi and the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán).
f 204*b*	"	862	ash-Sha'bí's young nephew plays a practical joke on a retainer of an Amír, who took him as a bearer.
"	"	863	Ibn Ḥamdún's humorous remark about Yúnus (?), a favourite slave of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz.
"	"	864	Khálid b. Azhar's puns on his own, his father's name and the name of his native town, and his witty remark about a line of a poet on the bread of Káshán, his native place, and how the Caliph al-Ma'mún appreciated it and installed him as the governor of Jurján and Ṭabaristán.
"	f 149*a*	865	On the Caliph al-Manṣúr expressing resentment at the inefficiency of his own generals, and citing the instance of al-Ḥajjáj among the Umayyads, 'Abbás the courtier submits that al-Ḥajjáj was almost absolute, and that if the Caliph chose there were to be found many more efficient than he in the Caliph's army.

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f 204*b*	f 149*a*	866	A eunuch obtains his release by sophistry, when brought before the court of the Amír Siddí (or Sindí) for peculation, by saying that just as the people falsely call him Siddı or 'Black', so also they have convicted him falsely.
f 205*a*	"	867	Thumáma retorts upon Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid, the sensitive Wazír, by hinting that he was fit for the post of a minister, if offered.
"	"	868	A Rabbı taunts Khálid-i-Qasrí for his disregard of the worshipfulness of Zayd b. ʿAlí the descendant of the Prophet.
"	"	869	Hibatu'llah Ibráhím b. al-Mahdí embarrassed at the witty remark of the young son of al-Ma'mún about his signet-ring.
"	"	870	An Arab among the 'Helpers' makes a sarcastic remark on the irritability of Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid.
"		871	Duwayd of Khurásán impeaches Qásim b. Mujáshiʿ for asking leave from the battle-field; the latter's reply and Abú Muslim of Marw's appreciation.
"	f 149*a*	872	The Imám Ḥasan abhors war and bloodshed, and refuses to fight for Muʿáwiya against the rising of Duwaydatu'l-Asadí.
f 205*b*	f 149*b*	873	An Arab's trenchant remark on Muʿawiya's miserliness at meals.
"	"	874	The Caliph al-Hádí forgives a condemned secretary who recites apologetic verses proper to the occasion.
"	"	875	The Caliph al-Manṣúr arrests Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlí b. Ḥusayn and forgives him on his describing a certain type of hypocrisy, illustrated by Ibráhím and Muḥammad the sons of ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. al-Ḥusayn.
"	"	876	Ṭurayḥ b. Ismáʿíl ath-Thaqafí the poet's clever defence before the Caliph al-Manṣúr for having written an ode in honour of the Caliph Walid b. Yazid. (Cf. Ibn Qutayba's *ash-Shuʿará*, p. 427).
"	*	877	A drunkard and a Zindíq are brought before the tribunal; the former escapes punishment by a witty remark, while the latter is executed. (*T. F. S.* pt. I, ch. IV. p. 73).
f 206*a*		878	The Caliph al-Hárún excuses Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ashʿath on account of a witty reply of his.
"	*	879	Isḥáq b. Ibráhím al-Mawṣilí liberates a slave on account of a witty remark.
"		880	The Caliph al-Manṣúr incautiously orders Rayyán to execute Fudhayl b. ʿImrán al-Kúfí, but when the deed has been perpetrated accuses Rayyán, who saves his own neck by a pointed remark.
"	f 149*b*	881	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir refuses the bribe offered to him by the rebel ʿAbdu'llah ibnu'r-Ráy of Egypt, and suppresses him, upon which the Caliph al-Ma'mún appoints him governor of Egypt.
"	"	882	The Ṣúfí saint Maʿrúf of Karkh preaches the gospel of work; the Shaykhu'l-Islám ʿAbdu'llah al-Anṣárí's couplet is cited in support.
"		883	Aḥmad b. ʿUmar's pathetic appeal to the Caliph al-Ma'mún to show mercy in this world, if he expects the same from God in the other.
"	f 150*a*	884	A poor old water-carrier explains to the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim the reason of the long lives of the honest labourers and the short ones of the idle rich. (Kháqáni cited).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 206*b*		885	ʿAmr b. Aws of the Baní Azd cajoles Muaʿwiya by calling him maternal uncle of the Muslims and thereby obtains his own release.
"	f 150*a*	886	The sharp retort of the Wazír ʿAbú ʿAlí the Khaṭíb by sending a pen for the sword in retaliation for the threat of Ḥasanawayh the ruler of ʿIráq.
"	"	887	Witty remarks of an old person about the period of his past life as 4 years only and about planting a nutmeg tree at such a late period in life, and the Caliph al-Hárún's appreciation and rewards. (Cf. *infra* III. iii. Anec. 1561 and also *S. N.* p. 118).
"	"	888	Abu'l-ʿAyná' justifies his satires by citing two verses from the Qur'án, to the effect that he praised the virtuous and condemned the wicked, upon which the Caliph al-Ma'mún rewards him. (The author's own quatrain).
"	"	889	ash-Shaʿbí defends his ignorance of a certain legal point, by quoting the famous verse — the reply of the angels to God about names.
"	"	890	ʿAbdu'llah b. Mubárak al-Marwazí rebukes an ʿAlawí drunkard who called him the son of an infidel.
f 207*a*	"	891	ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿÁṣ as-Sahmí points out to Muʿáwiya the prediction of the Prophet about the murderers of ʿAmmár b. Yásir.
"	"	892	The Qáḏhi Iyás b. Muʿáwiya's piquant reply to a person who wanted to befool him about the legality of date-wine.
"		893	Iyás b. Muʿáwiya baffles Ḥakam b. Ayyúb, when the latter wanted to convict him as a Khárijite.
"	f 150*b*	894	The Imám Sháfiʿí explains to the Caliph Hárún the utility of gnats in the scheme of universe, by saying that they are meant to humiliate the proud and show the weakness of man. (Anec. repeated; see above I. i. 21).
"	"	895	The Sultan Bahrámsháh of Ghazna punishes a minstrel whom he happened to see in the morning, but after his victorious return from his Indian campaign, the minstrel remarks that the king's seeing him had brought ill-luck to him (the minstrel), not to the king.
"	"	896	The irritating message of the Persian general Suhráb and the reprimand of the Muslim general al-Muṯhanná.
"	"	897	A preacher gives an equivocal reply to a questioner from amongst his Mázandarání Shíʿa audience about the first lawful successor of the Prophet and obtains a reward from the ruler.
f 207*b*	"	898	Khálid b. Ṣafwán's pithy description of the court of al-Mahdí.
"		899	The Caliph al-Mahdí's happy explanation of the release of the victims of his father's time.
"	f 150*b*	900	The pertinent reply of a plaintiff, who had come from Khurásán to claim redress from the Caliph Hárún against the tyranny of ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá b. Máhán.
"	"	901	A witty pretext of Ibnu'l-Háshimí before his father, in defence of his behaviour while drunk. (Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118).
"	"	902	Abu'l-ʿAyná's humorous replies to the questions of the Wazír al-Muhallabí (?) about his unfortunate experiences in Iṣfahán.
"	"	903	The five precepts of a shepherd which contained the essence of wisdom.
"		904	Buzurjmihr's alternative replies as to what is best for man; intellect; failing that, culture; failing that, concealment of one's defects; failing that, modesty; failing that, silence; failing all, death (Saná'í cited).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 207*b*	f 151*a*	905	The Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad's intention to take revenge upon his old harsh teacher and the latter's judicious replies.
f 208*a*	"	906	A witty reply of a condemned stirrup-holder of the Kisrá.
"	-	907	The Kisrá orders the execution of a steward, who had accidentally spoiled his clothes, but on the victim's pouring the contents of the bowl on the royal head while justifying himself, the King forgives him (*T. F. S.*).
"	f 151*a*	908	The joke of a Persian ruler, Atábak Dakla (?).
"	"	909	Malik Muḥammad, the ruler of Kirman, discovers the joke played upon him, hinting at his fondness for wine.
"	"	910	The same ruler dismisses a treasurer who told a very lengthy story of his dream, on the ground that he must be in the habit of sleeping too long.
"	"	911	The young Fatḥ b. Kháqán's brilliant reply to the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, when a guest in the palace of his father.
"	f 151*a*	912	The Sultan Bahrámsháh of Ghazna's grudge against the Qáḏhí Abu'l-Barakát and the latter's clever defence.
f 208*b*	f 151*b*	913	The suggestive present of a mirror by Abú 'Alí Ayyúb, the Amír of Fárs to the Caliph al-Mu'tazz.
"	"	914	Abú Dulaf b. Abí Dá'úd's explanation to his brother, why he took up the profession of a harpist after his past occupation as a warrior.
"	"	915	The Caliph al-Ma'mún asks Ḥasan b. Sahl why one should rely on the wise sayings of the bygone days.
"		916	Abú Rajá' Jábir b. Ḏhaḥḥák gets the better of Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid in a contest in presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
f 209*a*		917	Abú Ja'far-i-Gázur, a veteran of the Sámánid army, pleases 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Núḥ by justifying his nickname.
"		918	Baṭak (?)'s sarcastic reply to Abú Bakr b. Aḥmad in presence of the Ḥájib Khúmártigín.
"	f 151*b*	919	Retorts of an ugly person and a blind man on personal attacks.
"	"	920	al-Ḥajjáj illustrates the destruction of the gate of Jerusalem which the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik had erected, and the preservation of the one that be himself had built, by an apt comparison with the acceptance and rejection of the sacrifices of Hábíl and Qábil. The Chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I. Chapter XVII. On the Anecdotes of the Qáḏhís or Judges.
"	f 151*b*	921	Introduction. A robbery in the house of an old miser, and the consolation offered to him by a learned neighbour.
"	f 152*a*	922	A funny genealogical puzzle solved by a Qáḏhí at the court of the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán.
f 209*b*	"	923	The Qáḏhí Yaḥyá b. Akṯham solves another riddle of a similar kind.
"	"	924	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybání's legal device to absolve the Wazír and to please the Caliph al-Hárún.
"	f 152*a*	925	Abú Ibráhím b. Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad al-Muzaní's two visits to the Ṭúlúnid ruler Aḥmad and his opinion on chess.
"	"	926	The Caliph is persuaded by the Qáḏhí Yaḥyá b. Akṯham to prohibit *mut'a*, which he had permitted in a captured town of Rúm.

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f210a	f152b	927	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭahir's three questions and Abu's-Samiá''s solutions.
„		928	Ismaʿil b. Ḥammad b. Abí Ḥanífa, the Qa<u>dh</u>í of Baṣra, devises a plan to relieve his friend from the demands of his creditors.
„	f152b	929	Abu Yúsuf as a poor student, and the Imám Abú Ḥanífa's patronage and encouragement of his learning.
f210b	„	930	The problem of the divorce of Zubayda, and the solution attempted by the Qá<u>dh</u>í Abú Yúsuf and the consequent reward and emolument.
„	f153a	931	The limitation of the indefinite vow of al-Mutawakkil to seventy-one *Dinárs*, suggested by the Imám Muḥammad ibnu'r-Ri<u>dh</u>a.
„		932	The Imám Abú Yúsuf's congratulations to Zubayda on the *Bayʿat* of her little son al-Amín as the innocent Caliph.
„		933	Congratulation of a Qá<u>dh</u>í to Abu'l-ʿAbbás Furát on his appointment as governor of Kúfa, and the misinterpretation of the word 'عرد' by a slave.
f211a	f153a	934	The subtle device of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa to detect the real mother of a disputed child.
„	„	935	Sagacity of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa in detecting the thief that had stolen a treasure, which he had concealed under a tree.
„		936	Abú Ḥanífa suggests a means of destroying a bath-house that was damaging the house of the adjacent neighbour.
„		937	Another artifice suggested by Abú Ḥanífa to punish an impious neighbour who had erected a high building.
„		938	How Abú Ḥanífa got back the five *Dirhams* which a wretched water-bearer had extorted from him, while on his way to the Pilgrimage.
„	„	939	How Abú Ḥanífa baffles a dishonest trustee by challenging him in the matter of testimony.
f211b	f153a	940	Abú Ḥanífa's device to separate the twins, of whom one was dead.
„	„	941	Another shrewd guess of Abú Ḥanífa in detecting mother and son, in the person of husband and wife, who had come to consult him.
„	„	942	Abú Ḥanífa's clever device in making a plaintiff identify the robbers who had made him swear not to expose them.
„	f153b	943	How Abú Ḥanífa baffles the Khawárij and convinces them through the strength of their belief concerning the commission of capital sins.
„		944	The cutting reply of Abú Ḥanífa to a Jew, who had questioned the existence of any medical knowledge in the Qur'án.
„		945	Abú Ḥanífa's reply to a questioner about the proper function of each organ.
„	f153b	946	Abú Ḥanífa's practical reply to the question of a woman about purity, by cutting an apple in half.
f212a	„	947	Abú Ḥanífa suggests a legal device to a person who in reality did not want to divorce his wife.
„	„	948	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan the disciple of Abú Yúsuf's practical joke on a person who wanted to absolve himself from '*Dhakát*'.
„	„	949	Another suggestion by a pupil of his to a butcher, who also wanted to free himself from the same obligation.
„	f153b	950	Another student of the same plays a practical joke on a miserly baker in Egypt.

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f212a	f153b	951	The Qádhí Iyás b. Muᶜáwiya's shrewdness in guessing the echo caused by a howling dog chained at a well. (Cf. Ibn Kh. Wust. Biog. 104).
"	"	952	Another right guess of the same Qádhí about the flies and the serpent. (Cf. *Ibid.*).
"		953	A clever method of detecting a dishonest litigant.
"		954	Abu'l-Fadhl Kirmaní's expression of mixed grief and joy at the court of the Sultan Sanjar and hint at the inappropriateness of his reception in comparison with that of the illiterate son of the late Qádhí.
f212b	f153b	955	Abú Bakr-i-Warráq at-Tirmidhí's secret lessons from the immortal Khidhr. (Cf. *A. T. A.* Pt. II. pp. 91—93).
"	f154a	956	How Abú Bakr-i-Warráq's book on "*The Law and the Path*" was corrected mysteriously by Khidhr. (Cf. *Ibid.* ascribed to Muḥ. b. ᶜAlí al-Ḥakím).
"	"	957	The perfect knowledge of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí al-Ḥakím at-Tirmidhí, acknowledged by his preceptor Abu Bakr-i-Warráq. (Cf. *Ibid.*).
"	"	958	The marriage of Abú Ḥafṣ-i-Kabír, and his ordeal before he attained perfection.
f213a	"	959	The favourite maid-servant of Abú Ḥafṣ-i-Kabír advises him to placate his enemies before starting to preach in Bukhará.
"	f154b	960	The strict impartiality of the Qadhí Shurayḥ while hearing the litigation between the Caliph ᶜAlí and a Jew.
"		961	The Imám Ismáᶜíl (?) visits Ilak (Qadhi) (?), and points out to him his deficiencies in governing the country, and relates what the people think of him.
"	f154b	962	The Imám Muḥammad Naṣr's warning to the Sultan Qadr Ṭamghaj the Ilak Khán of Samarqand.
f213b	"	963	The Qádhí Shurayḥ demands the price of a horse from the Caliph ᶜUmar and compensates the loss of his opponent.
"	"	964	ᶜAmr b. ᶜUbayd, the leader of the Muᶜtazilites, is exposed to shame by a pupil of the Imám Abú Yúsuf.
"	"	965	The intricate problem of "Exception in an oath", and the arguments advanced by the Imám Abú Yúsuf in the presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"	f155a	966	The hesitation of the Qádhí Ibnu's-Sawwár in accepting the evidence of ᶜAlqamatu'l-Mázini.
f214a		967	Discussion between ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán Muṭṭawwiᶜí the Muftí of Balkh and Khwája Imám Bakr Ḥámid Bukhárí on the comparative merits of a "*Ghází*" and an "ᶜ*Álim*". (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan's *Kitabu's-Siyari'l-Kabír* is quoted).
"		968	How one of the Ḥanafite leaders saved his life from the attack of the mob on the question of the Takhlíq-i-Qur'án by means of an evasive reply.
"	f155a	969	The incidental victory of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa over the leader of the Muᶜtazilites, and the emancipation of a slave-girl, after whom his pupil was hankering.
"	"	970	The argument of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa against a Zindíq about the punishment of the unbelievers which is latent at present, but will manifest itself in the after world.
"	"	971	How the Imám Abú Yúsuf, by solving the problem of *Isqáṭ-i-Istibrá* and enabling the Caliph al-Hádí to take possession of a slave-girl, secured his appointment to the office of Qádhí at Baghdád.
f214b	"	972	Explanation of the Imám Abú Yúsuf to Muqátil-i-Rází about the refusal

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			of a present, his justification for accepting the Judgeship of Baghdád; and his suggestion of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan his colleague as suitable for Rayy.
f 214*b*		973	The Qádhí Sharík's reply to the Caliph al-Mahdí, as to what he should have to do if the evidence of his son the crown-prince was to be taken.
"	f 155*a*	974	How the Imám Abu Yúsuf astonishes a false prophet and punishes him severely.
"		975	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan's birth, coming of age, theological studies under the Imám Abú Yúsuf and Abú Ḥanífa, and the reason for compiling his *Kitábu's-Siyari'l-Kabír*.
"		976	The admiration of the Christian Fathers for the *Jámi'u'l-Kabír* and its author and their consequent adoration of the Prophet himself, the fountain-head of all this knowledge.
"		977	The Caliph Hárun's respect for the learning of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan and his grief at the deaths of Kisa'í and Muḥammad in Rayy, on the same day.
f 215*a*	f 155*b*	978	Abú Yúsuf and Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'í, two disciples of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa: the former when the chief Qadhí of Baghdád visits the latter and expresses the wish of changing the tattered garments of Dá'úd, upon which Dá'úd replies, "Thou hast attained thy wish, and hence changed thy clothes, and if we also attain ours, we shall do the same".
"	"	979	Abú Yúsuf and Ḥammád the son of Abú Ḥanífa visit Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'í, and the latter offers him the gold which his father had left. Dá'ud's refusal and low estimation of worldly wealth.
"		980	How Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'í refuses money offered to him by Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, the governor of Baghdád, and begs of him to be let alone.
"		981	A divorce riddle solved by Abú Qalaba (?).
"	f 155*b*	982	Abú Isḥáq al-Isfará'iní's arguments against the Karrámiyya sect and the Sultan Maḥmúd's conversion to the Sunní creed.
"		983	The theological controversy on the opening verse of the Qur'án between the Sháfi'ís and the Ḥanafís at the court of the Atábek of Hamadán and the Ḥanafite Qádhí of Sáwa's victory.
f 215*b*	f 155*b*	984	The interpretation of the idea of intensity and laxity in the faith of a Muslim given by the author's teacher Ruknu'd-Dín called the Imámzádah of Bukhárá.
"	"	985	The Imám Faṣiḥ-i Walwálají's (?) first reception in Farghána, and his pithy farewell remark to his audience about his marrying a musician girl.
"		986	Radhíyyu'd-Din Ṣawkhí or Súkhí's (?) legal solution of the Divorce formula which the Amír of Qáshán had pronounced. (The author relates it from Quṭbu'd-Dín a personal friend of Qáshání). There is no eulogy at the end of this Chapter.
			Part I. Chapter XVIII. On the Anecdotes of the Secretaries.
"	f 155*b*	987	Introduction: A short discourse on the importance of the office of a Secretary. 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir Dhu'l-Yamínayn's epigrammatic epistle seut to al-Ma'mún after his victory over 'Alí b. 'Isá b. Máhán.

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f 216*a*	f 156*a*	988	ʿAmr b. Masʿada, encounter with the "Weaver of words" and his brilliant description of the five kinds of secretaries, *viz.* for revenue settlement, civil procedure, criminal procedure, Army enlistment. and diplomatic correspondence. (*T. F. S.* Pt. II. pp. 35—8).
f 216*b*		989	Yúsuf-i-ʿIjlí, the secretary of ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAlí the Umayyad and the Caliph al-Manṣúr.
„	f 156*b*	990	The eloquent plea of an Arab for obtaining a reward from Abú ʿAbdi'llah, the Wazír of al-Mahdí, and the remark of his secretary.
f 217*a*	„	991	Muẓaffar Khamj (?), the retired secretary of Malikshāh the Saljúq, and how he was installed in office by Sanjar without any effort of his own.
f 217*b*		992	Naṣr b. Málik al-Khuzáʿí restored to the favour of the Caliph Hárún by submitting an apologetic request.
„		993	Ibn Nawwába (?), the secretary of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, composes the mandate about the reinstallation of Abu'l-Ḥasan Furát to the Wizarat.
„		994	Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá drafts a mandate to the governor of Egypt, at the request of Ibn-i-Muqla, after the restoration of al-Muqtadir to the Caliphate.
f 218*a*	f 157*a*	995	Abú Abdi'llah (?) the secretary forwards the pathetic appeal of Ibn-i-Muqla to Ibnu'l-Furát. Account of the intrigues of Ibn-i-Muqla.
f 218*b*		996	The Sultan Maḥmúd's threat to the Caliph, and the short reply of الم from the Caliph, and its interpretation by Abú Bakr Quhistání.
„		997	How the titile of "*Mawlá*" was changed into "*Walí*" by the Caliph, at the clever suggestion of one of the secretaries of the Sultan Maḥmúd.
„		998	How the Sultan Maḥmúd mischievously obtains the mandate of the Caliph from the Court of the Khán of Samarqand and tries to excite the wrath of the Caliph.
f 219*a*		999	How an unemployed secretary, a native of Baghdád, goes to Mawṣil and obtains office from the Ṣáḥib-i-Díwán of the Caliph al-Mahdí.
„		1000	A clever secretary who saves his employer, the governor of Ádharbáyján from disappointment.
f 219*b*	„	1001	Account of the release and appointment of ʿAlí (b.) Ḥusayn Iskáfí, the secretary of Abú Músá Bughá-i-Kabír.
„		1002	How an unemployed secretary obtains office from Abu'l-Ḥasan the governor of Iṣfahán.
f 220*a*	f 157*b*	1003	Appeal for redress sent by the Muslim prisoners in Byzantium to Sultan Sanjar, and the epistle sent by Muʿín-i-Aṣamm, the famous secretary, to the Qayṣar of Rúm. [This epistle is cited from here in the Átháru'l-Wuzará'. See Or. 4107. Br. Mus. ff. 111—114].
f 221*a*	f 158*b*	1004	The epigrammatic challenge written by Abu'l-Qásim Iskáf, the secretary of the Amír of the Chaghánís, to Núḥ b. Manṣúr the Sámánid, his arrest and enlistment in the service of the Sámánids.
„	„	1005	How Duwayb b. Thaʿlab was punished secretly by a secretary of the Caliph ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán.
„	„	1006	The inflammatory letter of Bú Saʿíd Jannábí. Qirmiṭi to the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍhid, which was sent through ʿAbbás (b.) ʿAmr Ghanawí.
f 221*b*	„	1007	The reply of an imprisoned secretary to a consolatory letter, through which he indirectly gains the favour of ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 221*b*		1008	How Fadhl b. Marwán, the Ṣáḥib-i-Díwán of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, appoints Ibn-i-ʿArús as his assistant at the recommendation of Yúnus b. Walíd al-Anbárí.
f 222*a*	f 158*b*	1009	The clever artifice of an unemployed secretary in al-Muʿtaṣim's reign, who amassed wealth out of nothing.
"		1010	How Ṣaliḥ b. ʿAlí Kátib is restored to prosperity through the favour of Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid and is made the governor of Egypt.
f 222*b*		1101	How ʿAbdu'llah Hubayrí (?), one of the old clerks of the Umayyads, used to annoy Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid by his visits and how the Caliph al-Ma'mún appoints him governor of Egypt.
f 223*a*	f 158*b*	1012	The tacit pact among three young friends: Abú Khálid, Abú ʿAbdi'llah Mahdí and Abú Ayyúb, and how Abú ʿAbdi'llah when he obtained the office of secretary fulfilled his early promises.
"	f 159*a*	1013	How Ibráhim b. Rayyán, the assistant secretary of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l Malik, the secretary of the Caliph al-Wáthiq, was warned by the secretary and reminded of the dignity of the office.
"	"	1014	A secretary of Ibráhím b. ʿAbbás omits the date in a letter, and is reminded by his master of the importance of putting dates in correspondence.
"	"	1015	The clever suggestion of Sulaymán b. Wahb, the secretary of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim to Aḥmad-i-ʿAmmár about Iṣfáḥ (?), the chamberlain, one of the undischarged clients of the Caliph.
f 223*b*		1016	Khusrawsháh points out to Naṣru'llah b. ʿAbdi'l-Ḥamíd the etiquette of writing the name of a place in which the word Maḥmúd occured.
"		1017	Another instance of Khusrawsháh the Ghaznawid's short method of correcting and replying to petitions.
"		1018	Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ writes an euphemistic letter by the order of Sultan Után with instructions to castrate Aḥmad Zawzaní, who had torn out one of the testicles of Abú ʿAbdi'llah in a fight.
"		1019	Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ's request to the Sultan Sanjar to be sent back to the service of Sultan Után.
f 224*a*		1020	ʿAlí [b.] Haytham (?) Thaʿálibí or Taghlibí (?) quits for ever the service of Fadhl b. Rabíʿ when abused by him once.
"	•	1021	How Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide rewarded ʿAbdu'llah (السلان) (?) his secretary for having annoyed him.
"	f 159*a*	1022	The controversy of the commander (*amír*) and the secretary (*dabír*) about their respective merits.
"	"	1023	The author Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí's own discourse on the comparative merits of the sword and the pen, and an epilogue in which he declares that the services of both have tended to enhance the success of his patron Wazír, the Niẓámu'l-Mulk Muḥammad b. Abí Saʿd al-Junaydí.
			Part. I, Ch. XIX: On the Anecdotes of Favourites and Courtiers.
f 224*b*	f 159*b*	1024	A short introductory note on the qualifications of a boon-companion. (Dihqán ʿAlí Shaṭranjí cited) The story of the two boon-companions of Jadhímatu'l-Abrash, whose name became proverbial afterwards.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 225*a*	f 160*a*	1025	The four matchless things presented by Kayd the Indian Ray to Alexander the Great, *viz.* his daughter, a paragon of beauty; an accomplished physician; an excellent boon-companion and a magic cup.
f 225*b*		1026	Khwush-árzú's interesting replies to Parwíz's questions about choice dishes and other delicacies.
f 226*a*		1027	Abú Dulaf Khazrají's pithy answers to ʿAdhudu'd-Dawla's query about drinking.
"		1028	Abú ʿAlí Háshim, and Abú Dulaf Khazrají's contest of wit in presence of ʿAdhudu'd-Dawla.
"	f 160*b*	1029	The Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád's remark on drinking and the genesis of wine: — the story of the first experiment of Jamshíd on grapes — and why wine was prohibited by the Prophet.
f 226*b*		1030	Abú Bakr-i-Hudhalí cleverly reminds the Caliph al-Manṣúr of his promise to bestow on him a slave-girl.
f 227*a*		1031	The Caliph (al-Manṣúr) is pleased at the deafness of Barídí his boon-companion.
"		1032	A debate between a boon-companion and a secretary.
"	f 160*b*	1033	Ibráhím b. Mahdí, the uncle of al-Amín and al-Ma'mún, as an excellent boon-companion, and how he won the favour of the former.
"		1034	Isḥáq b. Ibráhím Mawṣilí explains to the Caliph al-Wáthiq the cause of his declining the honour of being a boon-companion, while he was already holding the highest offices of police and justice.
"	f 161*a*	1035	al-Amín sends Ibráhím b. Mahdí to prison for an offence committed in an unguarded moment of conviviality.
f 227*b*	"	1036	A life-lasting bounty of al-Amín to his boon-companion Ḥasan-i-Dhaḥḥák.
f 228*a*		1037	The Caliph Hishám b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik sends for Ḥammádu'r-Ráwiya, the Rhapsodist, from Kúfa to discover the writer of a certain verse.
"		1038	Abu'l-Qásim Aḥmad, a courtier of Sayfu'd-Dawla, relates the story of Nátari (?).
f 228*b*		1039	The Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád punishes an impudent favourite but releases him on his making a witty remark.
"	f 161*b*	1040	Badíhí (?), a favourite of the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád, and his retort. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XX: On the Anecdotes of Physicians.
"	"	1041	An introductory note on the science of medicine. Hippocrates, the father of medicine, hesitates to leave his native place and rejects the magnificent offer of Bahrám b. Isfandiyár, the Persian king, through Filáṭús his own king.
f 229*a*	f 162*a*	1042	A practical prescription of Hippocrates — the physician, the patient and the disease are three in number: victory can be easily achieved by the combination of the first two.
"	"	1043	How Hippocrates examines the cause of the disease of the love-stricken prince, the son of Filáṭús and plans his marriage.

A.	G.	Suhd.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 229*a*		1044	How Minubal (?), the Persian physician, suggested a remedy to Ja‘far b. Yaḥyá the Barmecide in order to rid himself of a white spot of leprosy that had developed on his lip.
„		1045	How Minubal (?) detected the falsehood of an imbecile who used to boast of his extraordinary animal passion.
f 229*b*	f 162*a*	1046	A curious treatment by Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rází, the famous physician. Haematemesis cured by making the patient swallow weeds called *Jama-i-Ghúk* and thereby drawing the leech out of his intestines. (Cf. *Arabian Medicine*, p. 74—5).
„		1047	ar-Rází's similar treatment of a similar disease. (Cf. *Arabian Medicine*, p. 75).
„		1048	A physician from Baṣra cures a slave of Ibnu's-Ṣaydalání who had committed an unnatural act.
f 230*a*	f 162*a*	1049	Repartee of al-Ḥajjáj's physician to an eunuch.
„		1050	How a physician at the court of al-Ma'mún wrote a book on the preventives of wrong diets.
„	f 162*a*	1051	Wonderful treatment of apoplexy by Qaṭí‘, the Egyptian physician, — an apparently dead man restored to life by flogging.
„	„	1052	Another cure by the same physician — Locusts that had eaten the plant of Mádhariyún = Daphne oleoides or spurge-flax as a cure for dropsy (Cf. *Arabian Medicine* pp. 77—8).
„	f 162*b*	1053	The joint-treatment of a dangerous disease by Aristotle and Sarnáb or Sarbát, the Indian physician. — The use of anaesthetics, the trephining of the skull, perfection of surgical knowledge in India —. (Cf. *Arabian Medicine*, p. 79).
f 230*b*	„	1054	The famous physician Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rází cures an intestinal obstruction with mercury.
„	„	1055	Mání-i-Muwaswas cures a woman of a blooksucking parasite in her womb. The Chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XXI: On the Anecdotes of Oneiromancers.
„	„	1056	Introductory note on the significance and correct interpretation of dreams. The Caliph ‘Umar's observation on dreams, that he was pleased, but not deceived by them.
f 231*a*	f 162*a*	1057	Alexander's dream during his Persian campaign, that Dárá threw him to the earth, interpreted by Buzurjmihr as his sway over the world.
„		1058	‘Abdu'lláh b. Zubayr's dream and Ibn-i-Sírín's interpretation of it as his defeat at the hand of ‘Abdu'l-Malik and the succession of the four sons of ‘Abdu'l-Malik.
„	f 163*a*	1059	Ibn-i-Sírín's interpretation of Abú Ḥanífa's dream of collecting the bones of the Prophet as the codification of the Islamic law.
„	„	1060	Omens before the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad.
f 231*b*	f 163*b*	1061	The dream of ‘Átika, the daughter of ‘Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, and its realisation in the Battle of Badr. (*Kutub-i-Maghází* indefinitely mentioned, see above, p. 101).

A.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 231*b*	*	1062	Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar's dream, and the assassination of Abú Muḥammad Makhlad at the hands of the Turks.
f 232*a*		1063	Muʿáwiya's dream about the succession of the Caliphate to the descendants of Marwán.
"		1064	Kundhur (?) the Ráy of India's curious dream, and its interpretation by Mihrán, and the prophecy about Alexander's invasion, and the 4 matchless things as redemption. (*Akhbár-i-Iskandar* as the source).
f 232*b*	f 163*b*	1065	Núshírwán's dream of a pig drinking with him from the same water, and Buzurjmihr's interpretation and device to punish the criminals.
"	f 164*a*	1066	Yaʿqúb-i-Kashsháfí's interpretation of the dream of Sabuktigin as signifying the rise of his dynasty.
"		1067	The ominous dream of a notable of Baghdád, and the prophecy of an interpreter.
f 233*a*		1068	The ominous dream of Abu'l-Jaysh: its similarity with the dream of al-Mutawakkil and its similar interpretation.
"	f 164*a*	1069	The dream of the Qáḏhí Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmúd Níshapuri about the rise of the Sultan Yamínu'd-Dawla Bahrámsháh of Ghazna (The *Khalqu'l-Insan* as the source, see above p. 66).
"	"	1070	The dream of the Khwája Buzurg Bihrúz b. Aḥmad, the Wazír of the Sultan Raḏhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím of Ghazna, and its fulfiment.
"	"	1071	The Caliph al-Ma'mún sees Aristotle in his dream, who gives him three counsels, in consequence of which al-Ma'mún adopts a benevolent policy.
"	"	1072	The dream of Sabuktigín at the birth of his son Maḥmúd in 361 A. H., and the coincident falling down of an idol in India. (The *Ta'rikhi-Náṣiri* as the source, see above p. 61).
f 233*b*	f 164*b*	1073	The Caliph al-Muʿtaḏhid sees the Caliph ʿAlí in his dream, in prison, who prophesies his restoration to the Caliphate.
"		1074	How the Caliph al-Muʿtamid carries out the order of the Prophet in dream and whilst in a state of unconsciousness, releases Manṣúr-i-Jammál and Aḥmad-i-Ḥaddád.
f 234*a*		1075	Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlí aṣ-Ṣábúní is ordered by the Prophet in dream to receive the forlorn Muḥammad (b.) Azraq al-Anbárí, who was robbed on his way to Egypt.
f 234*b*		1076	Abú ʿAmr Qání's story of the renewed prosperity of a youth, through the information conveyed to him by the dream of another person in Egypt.
"		1077	Ḥarima (?) b. Ḥázim, the Wazír, disgraces Ḥámid b. ʿUmar al-Ḥarrání, but dreams of the invocation of Ḥámid and bestows wealth on him in order to win his favour.
f 235*a*	·	1078	The simultaneous injunctions of the Prophet to ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá and an apothecary of the Karkh of Baghdád to offer and accept 400 *dínárs*, in order to liquidate a debt. (*T. F. S.*).
"	f 16*b*4	1079	How Abu'l-Qásim Saʿdí abandoned the habit of sodomy at the warning of Fáṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, in a dream. (*T. F. S.*).
f 235*b*	f 165*a*	1080	Ibnu'l Furát dreams that the loaf given as alms by the mother of his opponent, Abú Jaʿfar Bisṭámí, warded off his attacks on the latter.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 235*b*		1081	A similar story — How Sharafu'd-Dín ᶜUthmán b. Ardashír was protected by loaves, while he was being punished by the order of the Sultan Ghiyáthu'd-Dín.
f 236*a*		1082	The Caliph al-Manṣúr wakes up after a dream at midnight and orders Rabíᶜ the chamberlain to redress the wrongs of a prisoner at the gates of Shám or Damascus.
”		1083	Ibn-i-Abí ᶜAwn the chief of the police of Baghdád's curious dream, its realisation and the release of an innocent and falsely convicted person of Madá'in.
”		1084	How Músá b. ᶜAbdu'l Malik is given the glad news of his release in a dream.
”		1085	A calamitous dream of a person about 12 deaths in his house during the plague. (*al-Faraj ba*ᶜ*da'sh-Shidda* as the source.)
f 236*b*		1086	Niẓámu'd-Dín, the son of Burhánu'l-Islám, dreams of the exact quatrain in which the poet Fahmí had ridiculed the poet Samá'í-i-Iskáf (?). (On the authority of the author himself.)
”	f 165*a*	1087	The dream of ᶜAbbás, the uncle of the Prophet, and the interpretation of the Prophet concerning the successive stages of the Caliphate.
”		1088	The ominous dream of Wazzáh (?), the infatuation of Ṣáliḥa, the wife of the last Umayyad Marwán-i-Ḥimár, and their dreadful fate.
”	f 165*a*	1089	The calamitous dream of al-Mutawwakil, in which he saw the Caliph ᶜAlí giving him seven lashes with a whip, which punishment in the end was fulfilled by his being cut into seven pieces at the hands of the Turks. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XXII: On the Anecdotes of the Astrologers, and their predictions.
f 237*a*	f 165*b*	1090	Introductory discourse on astrology and prediction. The Caliph ᶜAlí's opinion on astrology and predestination.
”		1091	The Caliph ᶜAlí pays no heed to ominous signs of the stars, and leads his army to battle at Nahrawán and defeats the Khawárij.
”		1092	The Shaykh Abú Ḥafṣ-i-Kabír's attempt to dispel the false notion of a Brazier about the fulfilment of predictions.
”		1093	A preacher relates the story of Solomon who was not able to see the mysterious workings of the bee-hive, in refutation of the claim of astrologers to predict unknown things.
f 237*b*		1094	How Jaᶜfar b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, orders the execution of the astrologer who had predicted the Caliph's death within a year, and dispels Hárún's anxiety.
”		1095	Jámásp the Astrologer's prediction about the issue of the war between Gushtásp and Arjásp.
”		1096	An astrologer predicts the death of Jaᶜfar, the son of the Caliph al-Manṣúr.
”		1097	Fadhl b. Sahl, through his knowledge of astrology, saves the Caliph al-Ma'mún from the raiders; which coincides with the victory of ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir over ᶜAlí b. ᶜÍsá b. Máhán.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 238*a*	f 165*b*	1098	An attempt to poison the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim is averted by the expert astrological advice of the son of the late Fadhl b. Sahl, the Wazír.
f 238*b*	"	1099	Parwíz's accidental escape, and the murder of the astrologer, who being aware of his fate was seeking shelter in the king's palace.
"	"	1100	Fadhl b. Sahl's fruitless attempt to avert the impending calamity, his own death, which he knew beforehand.
"	"	1101	Buḥturí the poet's auspicious verses, and Abú Maʿshar of Balkh the famous astrologer's prediction about the restoration of al-Muʿtazz to the Caliphate.
f 239*a*		1102	Ibnu'l ʿAskarí happens to see the astrological chart of his life, and the fulfilment of one of the predictions.
"		1103	Mání-i-Muwaswas's prediction about the attack of Yaʿqúb b. Layth on the Caliph, his defeat and drowning. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafa-i-Baní-ʿAbbás* as the source, see above, p. 48).
"		1104	Saʿdu'z-Zamán, the astrologer, averts a calamity by removing his patron, the Amír of Bust, from the bath.
"	f 166*a*	1105	Several predictions about a prince come to pass at the same time and convince the unbelieving king of the efficacy of astrologers.
"	"	1106	ʿAbdu'l-Muḥsin, the poet, rewarded posthumously by the Caliph al-Muntaṣir, according to the prediction of his old astrologer friend. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XXIII: On the Anecdotes of Poets and their Extempore Verses.
f 239*b*	f 166*b*	1107	Introductory discourse on extempore poetry, and the poet as the perpetuator of the fame of Kings. Arabic couplets cited and the corresponding Persian couplets of Niẓámí ʿArúdhi-i-Samarqandí. Marwán b. Abí Ḥafṣa the panegyrist of Maʿn b. Zá'ida seeks patronage at the court of al-Mahdí and Hárún, and wins reward from both through the merit of his poetical genius.
f 240*a*	"	1108	Ḥasan Dhaḥḥak, the poet laureate to the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, wins the favour of the Caliph by extemporising verses in his honour.
"	f 167*a*	1109	Abú Jarwal Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, the poet-representative of the tribe of Hawázin's pathetic appeal for amnesty addressed to the Prophet. (See *H. S. R.* p. 877 for the cited verses). (*T. F. S.* Pt. I, ch. V, p. 88).
"		1110	Account of the release of Abú Bakr ʿAbdu'llah, who had incurred the displeasure of the Caliph al-Manṣúr, and his association with the poet ar-Rá'iḥí who wrote an ode on Maʿn b. Zá'ida.
f 240*b*	f 167*a*	1111	Abu'l-ʿAtáhiya's arrest by the Caliph al-Mahdí for not writing poetry, and his strange meeting in prison with the son of ʿÍsá b. Zayd; his extempore verses in presence of the Caliph obtain deliverance for him.
f 241*a*	f 167*b*	1112	How Ibráhím Mudbir obtains his release from the prison of Najáḥ b. Maslama by sending his verses to be sung before the Caliph al-Mutawakkil.
"		1113	A poet in retaliation satirises Abu'l-Fadhl Míkálí in a couplet, but after being rewarded supplements it in praise of Abu'l-Fadhl.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 241*a*		1114	A poet of the court of al-Ḥajjáj in disappointment addresses ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, who in turn replies in verse and rewards him.
"		1115	How Ṭurayḥ b. Ismaʿíl ath-Thaqafí defended his verses in praise of Walíd, when questioned by the Caliph al-Manṣúr.
f 241*b*		1116	Abú Tammám's extempore couplets in honour of Aḥmad the son of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, when accused of comparing the Caliph with smaller persons.
"		1117	Abu'sh-Shamaqmaq's lines on the breaking of the banner of Khalid b. Yazíd b. Mazyad ash-Shaybání, while he was at the gate of Mawṣil.
"	f 167*b*	1118	Badíʿu'z-Zamán Hamadhání's fame at the early age of ten; the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl tests his talents for improvisation by giving him a verse from the *Díwan* of Manṣúr-i-Manṭiqí to translate into Arabic, which he does with such skill as to meet with the approbation of the great Ṣáḥib. (The *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* referred to for a detailed account of Badíʿu'z-Zaman).
"		1119	The Amír Khalaf of Sístán threatened by the poet Maʿrúf of Balkh if the Amír did not reward him for his ode.
"		1120	The Caliph Hárún's explanation to the Imám Abú Yúsuf about his extreme consideration for the Christian poet Akhṭal.
f 242*a*	f 167*b*	1121	The Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim dismisses Abú Ḥátim-i-Khurásání, his treasurer, in consequence of the satire of Ibnu'r-Rúmí, which the poet had composed in order to revenge himself on Abú Ḥátim.
"		1122	Ibnu'l-Ashʿath's reply to ʿAbdu'l Malik about the generosity of Qays-i-Maʿdíkarib to Aʿshá and the value of the immortal verses which commemorated his glory in return (Firdawsí cited).
"		1123	The Caliph al-Manṣúr asks Ru'ba, the poet, whether he would accept three hundred *Dínárs* or three counsels in compensation for his poetry.
"		1124	The Sultan Maḥmúd asks the poets of his court to translate two couplets (cf. *Lubáb* II, p. 22) of ʿAbdu'llah b. Muḥammad al-Walwálají, the poet. On the failure of all the others, Abu'l-Qásim, the son of the Wazír Abu'l-ʿAbbás Isfará'iní extemporises in Arabic.
"	f 168*a*	1125	An account of Farrukhí's poetry and his journey to Samarqand: his classic description of a traveller without money in a beautiful town, when asked about Samarqand by the Sultan Maḥmúd. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XXIV: On the Anecdotes of the Musicians.
f 242*b*	"	1126	Introductory note on music, and the controversy about hearing it. The works of the Imám Ghazálí, the *Iḥyá-i-ʿUlúmi'd-Dín* and *Kímiyá-i-Saʿádat* are referred to for the above question. The Origin of Music: Pythagoras's dream — the scientific arrangement of notes — influence of symphony on mind — the reason for the prohibition of music in Islám.
f 243*a*	f 168*b*	1127	Abu'l-ʿAyná's discourse on music and the influence of harmony, and Aristotle's opinion on the subject.
"		1128	How the Caliph Hárún arranges a meeting of the learned men of Baghdád and asks Ibráhím-i-Mawṣilí to captivate them by the charm of music.

A.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 243*b*		1129	How Bárbad, the minstrel, gained his first audience of Parwíz by striking wonderful notes, and enchanted him by his music.
"		1130	How Ibn-i-Jámi', through his extraordinary skill in singing a particular tune, enraptured the Caliph al-Hárún and obtained an immense reward.
f 244*a*		1131	Another anecdote of Ismá'íl b. Jámi' as-Sahmí's musical performance in the court of the Caliph.
f 244*b*		1132	Ibn-i-Abí'l-'Atíq's intercession before the Caliph (?) on behalf of the musician Salámatu'l-'Ayn to cancel his order for the expulsion of the musician-girls from the city of Mecca.
f 245*a*		1133	The love of Ibn-i-Sahl, the famous musician, for music lessons, and his father's hearty appreciation of his musical talents in the end.
"		1134	Isḥáq and Ibráhím-i-Mawṣilí attend Ibn-i-Sahl's music lessons, and collaborate in setting a song on Maẓlúma to music at the order of the Caliph al-Hárún.
f 245*b*		1135	How Ḥalwiyya, a favourite musician-girl of the Caliph al-Ma'mún, sings a piece of Isḥáq-i-Mawṣilí and restores him to the favour of the Caliph.
"		1136	How Isḥáq-i-Mawṣilí entered a party in disguise after a fair musician and enchanted her by his musical skill.
f 246*a*		1137	Amír Rashíd, the *Qawwál*, tries to outwit Maḥmúd, the musician, at the court of the Sultan Qilij Arslán Ibráhím ibnu'l-Ḥusayn. (Anecdote related by the author himself).
"		1138	Maḥmúd the musician's ardent desire to get back to court of Samarqand, even though he was received very generously at the court of Tukush Khwárazmsháh. (Anecdote related by the author).
f 246*b*	f 168*b*	1139	Buzurjmihr tests through music the capacity of a child of two as a fit person for future sovereignty. The *Iḥyá* along with the *Risala* of Qushayrí is mentioned in connection with this problem.
"	f 169*a*	1140	How Ibráhím Khawwáṣ obtains from an Arab tribe a slave who had the superb quality of enchanting camels by his *Ḥudá* or lays. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter XXV. On the Anecdotes of sagacious and acute persons.
"		1141	A short introduction on sagacity. Núshírwán's dream and Buzurjimihr's interpretation and the clever method of detecting the accomplice.
f 247*a*		1142	How in olden days the kings used to test each other's intelligence. Chess from India and pieces from Persia.
"		1143	How Buzurjmihr divined the contents of the casket sent by the Qayṣar of Rúm.
"		1144	The four extremely shrewd sons of Nizár b. Ma'add b. 'Adnan, their contest about inheritance, and the decision of Af'í i-Jurhumí. (Cf. *Ṭabari*, I 1109), the sage of Arabia.
f 247*b*		1145	A similar story of clever guesses (probably originated from the above).
f 248*a*		1146	An old blind astrologer by intuition finds out the thief who stole a precious casket given in charge to Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide.
f 248*b*		1147	The Caliph al-Ma'mún gives the first place to an untidy person, who gave brilliant replies in one of the weekly sittings of the learned men in his palace.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 248*b*	f 169*a*	1148	Buzurjmihr selects three things as the choicest in the world: — woman, death and patronage — and gives a pertinent explanation in the presence of Núshírwán.
"		1149	How a Jew was spared his beautiful garden by the Caliph Hárún, at a clever hint of his about the ownership of the garden.
f 249*a*	f 169*a*	1150	Plato's precept for constant happiness: the inference drawn from the story of the matchless cup and its loss and the consequent disappointment of the king.
"		1151	How Abú Muslim sends Yaqṭín b. Ibráhím, a Shí'ite grandee, to see Ibráhím b. Muḥammad in prison and asks him about the succession of the *Bay'at*.
"		1152	The story of changing the order of the king to the retreating army by putting dots: سیاه داران‌را بادکه سپاه‌را باز نکرداسد وحرب‌را نماند (Anecdote repeated I. xiv. 742).
"		1153	A person disappears from jail after prophesying the succession of Sulaymán, the brother of the Caliph Walid b. Abdu'l Malik instead of his son.
"		1154	Aristotle's reflective mirror for killing the obnoxious animal that emitted fatal poison from its eyes.
f 249*b*	f 169*b*	1155	Plato's grief at the praise of a fool and his retrospect of his past actions. (Cf. *Qábús-Náma*, pp. 34—35, also Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, II. 279.)
"		1156	A similar experience of the physician Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá ar-Rází and his resentment.
"		1157	Abrash-i-Kalbí's witty reply to the Caliph Hishám b. 'Abdu'l Malik for not having accompanied him in paying homage to the Lord at his succession.
"		1158	The Caliph al-Mutawakkil meets a very shrewd peasant while out hunting.
"		1159	How Khálid the Barmecide, seeing a deer take shelter, guesses correctly the onward march of the army of Ibn Dhubára (? Hubayra) and informs Qaḥṭaba his chief in good time.
f 250*a*		1160	A monk bestows the gift of 4 bricks of gold on a sagacious person.
"		1161	ash-Sha'bí's reply to 'Abdu'l Malik, the Caliph, about the signs of nobility and baseness.
"		1162	Kisrá's desire to keep Socrates company, and the philosopher's clever method of diverting him from the idea of companionship.
f 250*b*	f 169*b*	1163	Ashja'-i-Ḥimyarí's four virtues and one daily practice, and their explanation before Abú Muslím-i-Khurásání.
"		1164	How a guest cleverly divided the fowls on the table among the family of his host.
"	f 170*a*	1165	The riddle of the daughter of the Qayṣar of Rúm — her ten questions to each suitor. A very clever person outwits and marries her.
f 252*b*	f 171*b*	1166	The enigmatic utterances of Shann (?), the Arabian sage, and their solution by a bright girl result in their marriage and highly intellectual companionship.
f 253*a*		1167	Abú Muslim's shrewd illustration of the animal that devoured its benefactors, which contained an implied reference to al-Manṣúr's treachery.
"		1168	How a representative of the Persians contrived to bring about the deposition of 'Amr b. Maslama b. Qutayba, a governor appointed by the Caliph al-Manṣúr.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 253*a*		1169	How Zírak made up his mind to stay out in severe cold and win the prize offered by Hurmuz, the Persian King.
f 253*b*		1170	How the Qáḏhí Yaḥyá b. Aktham cleverly suggested to the people to praise him before the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"		1171	Aristotle solves the mystery of the betrayal of the state secrets with which he was entrusted by Alexander.
"		1172	Sultan Maḥmúd's contention with the Amír Ḥasanak about the Karrámites, and the Amír's convincing argument on the eve of the battle with Abú ʿAlí Símjúrí based on the skilful performance of a person, who could produce coins by waving his hand in the air.
f 254*a*	f 171*b*	1173	How to live in safety — three observations of a Brahmin before a Ráy, illustrated by the fable of the lion, jackal, pig and monkey (*Kalila wa Dimna* as the source).
"		1174	How '*Khák-Khwár*', a servant of Bahrám Gúr, enriches himself through obtaining the monopoly of the supply of eggs to the royal household.
"	*	1175	A court jester plays a trick on the Sultan Maḥmúd and his Wazír [Aḥmad b.] Ḥasan Maymandí, while they were returning from hunting.
f 254*b*		1176	How the Faqíh of Jurján attempts to procure the surrender of the Kotwál of Gardíz, who had revolted against Sultan Mawdúd.
"		1177	Ṣáliḥ b. ʿAlí relates the conversation that took place between the King of Núba and the deposed Marwán, and why he advised the Caliph al-Manṣúr to put the latter to death.
f 255*a*		1178	The Caliph Muʿáwiya sends an ambassador to the court of the Qayṣar, with a sinister motive, but the Qayṣar outwits him and thereby saves the Christians of Syria from the machinations of the Caliph.
"		1179	How Aḥmad b. Isrá'íl forecasts the death of the Caliph al-Wáṯhiq and escapes along with Aḥmad b. Mudbir and Sulayman b. Wahb from the prison.
f 255*b*	f 172*a*	1180	A theologian, an ʿAlawí, a soldier and a market-man raid a garden, are cleverly separated by the gardener, and are chastised in turn (cf. *Mathnawí*, II 2167 foll.).
"		1181	The Caliph ʿUṯhman's prediction about his own murder, couched in a proverbial expression, "Beware! I shall be murdered on the day the white bull is killed".
"	f 172*b*	1182	The clever suggestion of a Christian to the Caliph ʿAbdu'l Malik about the tyrannical governors of his province. The chapter (and Pt. I) ends with a eulogy.

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát.

Part II (comprising 25 chapters, XXVI—L):

On the Excellence of Virtues, Praiseworthy Qualities, and Estimable Traits in Human Nature.

Pt. II, Chapter I = XXVI: On the Excellence of Modesty.

A.[1]	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 1*b*		f 173*b*		General introduction to the Second Part, beginning with an exhortation on the virtue of Modesty, as the essence of ethics and religion in Islám, and a dedicatory eulogy on the Wazír Muḥammad b. Abí Sa'd al-Junaydí.
„		„	1183	How the prophet Yúsuf was saved by God from the temptation of Zulaykhá.
f 2*a*		f 174*a*	1184	Aristotle's explanation concerning the interval between two prophets: intellect and inherent modesty lead to virtue.
„		„	1185	Extreme regard of the Prophet Muḥammad for the Caliph 'Uthmán, for he was respected by God and the angels in heaven owing to his modesty.
„		„	1186	A child's retort to a party of elderly men, on the sense of shame.
„		„	1187	The reply of a person to a group of Ṣúfís who were afraid of lions in the neighbourhood, while he, fearing God alone, had slept undisturbed. (*R. Q.* as the source).
„		f 174*b*	1188	Sa'íd-i-'Áṣ, the governor of Kúfa, rewards a young man who was ashamed to ask for his wants from any human being.
f 2*b*		„	1189	The Caliph al-Ma'mún ashamed of extorting his debts from Yaḥyá b. Kháqán ruthlessly (*T. F. S.* as the source).
„		„	1190	The Imám Zaynu'l-'Ábidín ashamed at his daughter's remark.
f 3*a*		„	1191	How Núshírwán was ashamed of committing a sin.
„		f 175*a*	1192	The Caliph al-Ma'mún rewards a Badawí who presents him with a skin of fresh water and sends him back to the desert, that he might not be disappointed by finding that there was an ample supply of fresh water in the capital.
„	*	„	1193	Niẓámu'l-Mulk, the great Wazír of the Saljúqs, eats three cucumbers and is ashamed to tell the person who had presented them that they were bitter. The chapter ends with a eulogy on his patron Wazír.

[1]) See above p. 115 *ll.* 29—33. Since D. omits this chapter, while A. contains the first four chapters of Part II also, the text of this chapter is based on A., and parallel folio references to D. are given from A. as far it goes.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES
				Part II, Chapter II = XXVII: On the Excellence of Humility.
f 3*b*	f 97*a*	f 175*a*	1194	A short introduction to the chapter. Ridhwan's offer of an emerald casket to the Prophet, and the significant manner in which Jibra'il pointed towards the earth.
f 4*a*		f 175*b*	1195	The Amír Isma'íl b. Ahmad the Samánid is informed by the Prophet of the succession of his seven descendants, owing to the Amír's having respected one of the holy divines of Bukhárá.
"	f 97*b*	"	1196	The reverence and humility of the Caliph Hárún in the presence of Muhammad b. Hasan ash-Shaybaní.
"	,	"	1197	A few instances of the Prophet's humility and sacrifices for humanity.
"		"	1198	The Prophet waits on, and watches the clothes of, Hudhayfatu'l-Yamání while the latter was taking a bath. (The *Musnad-i-Akhbár-i-Nabawí* as the source).
"	f 98*a*	"	1199	The Caliph al-Ma'mún prefers to walk in the sun, and keep the Qádhí Yahya b. Aktham in the shade.
f 4*b*	"	f 176*a*	1200	The interview of the Sultan Mas'úd and the saint Shaykh Husayn of Zanján.
"	"	"	1201	The Imám Husayn's at-home party to the children.
"	"	"	1202	The Caliph al-Mu'tasim's help to an old man, and the story of his prosperity.
"	"	"	1203	Hárúnu'r-Rashíd pours water on the hands of Abú Qalaba.
"	f 98*b*	"	1204	Sultán Sanjar's reverence for Khwája Abu'l-Fadhl of Kirmán.
"	"	"	1205	The Caliph al-Mansúr attends the funeral of Isháq (b.) Ibráhím 'Uqaylí, his foe.
f 5*a*	"	"	1206	'Umar II's meekness: he would not allow any one but himself to perform menial services for his guest.
"	"	f 176*b*	1207	How the Prophet freed himself from the children, and Bilál's astonishment at the exceeding kindness of the Prophet.
"	f 99*a*	"	1208	How Salmán-i-Fársí, the Governor of Syria, submitted to act as a bearer.
"	"	"	1209	The Caliph al-Mahdí delays the prayer at the request of an Arab. The chapter ends with a short encomium on the Wazír.
				Part II, Chapter III = XXVIII: On the Excellence of Forgiveness.
f 5*b*	f 99*b*	f 177*a*	1210	A preamble on the divine quality of Forgiveness. (Saná'í cited). Imám Abú Yúsuf's suggestion to Hárúnu'r-Rashíd — forgiveness as the best punishment for the guilty.
"	"	"	1211	An instance of the Imám Hasan's extraordinary self-control: he forgives and liberates a slave who accidentally scorched him.
"	f 100*a*	"	1212	The Caliph al-Ma'mún shows forbearance, and restores Ahmad b. 'Urwa to office. (See *T. F. S.* pt. I, Ch. IV, p. 82).
f 6*a*	·	"	1213	Another instance of al-Ma'mún's clemency: his pardon of Fadhl b. Rabí'.
"	"	"	1214	al-Ma'mún forgives the Shí'a poet Di'bil on the recitation of his famous ode (Anecdote connected with the last one).
"	"	f 177*b*	1215	Mus'ab releases a person on his improvising a eulogy.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 6*a*	f 100*b*	f 177*b*	1216	al-Ma'mún's machinations against his uncle Ibráhím b. Mahdí always averted by the latter's pathetic appeals.
f 6*b*	f 101*a*	"	1217	How to suppress anger: a practical remedy suggested by a sage to a hot-tempered Muslim ruler.
f 7*a*	"	f 178*a*	1218	How Músá b. ʿUyayna saved a condemned man from the wrath of the Caliph Hárún and directed his attention to the Word of God and Tradition.
"	f 101*b*	"	1219	Sallám-i-Abrash the poet's plea for pardon accepted by the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"	"	f 178*b*	1220	The Caliph al-Ma'mún's forgiveness of the Qáḏhí Yaḥyá b. Akṯham.
f 7*b*	f 102*a*	"	1221	The Caliph as-Saffáḥ readily grants an amnesty to the people of Syria.
"	f 102*b*	"	1222	A Persian King acts contrary to the malicious advice of a courtier, and forgives a defaulter.
f 8*a*	"	"	1223	al-Ḥajjáj's crocodile tears over the condemned criminals.
"	"	f 179*a*	1224	al-Ḥajjáj forgives the Imám Shaʿbí at the intercession of Yazíd, in spite of his efforts to overthrow him and help ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. al-Ashʿaṯh.
"	f 103*a*	"	1225	Faḏhl b. Rabíʿ as a fugitive: his experiences with the horseman, the old woman, Sháhík, and the trader who betrayed him; al-Ma'mún pardons and restores him to favour.
f 8*b*	f 104*a*	f 179*b*	1226	al-Ma'mún forgives his uncle Ibráhím b. Mahdí and rewards him.
f 9*a*	"	"	1227	Ibnu'l-Bawwáb recites a few lines written in honour of the Caliph al-Ma'mún and asks forgiveness for Ḥusayn b. Ḏhaḥḥák, which is granted. (See *T. F. S.* pt. I, Ch. IV, p. 71).
"	f 104*b*	f 180*a*	1228	al-Jáḥiẓ forgiven and patronised by Aḥmad b. Abí Dá'úd after the fall of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik az-Zayyát. (See *T. F. S.* pt. I, pp. 79—80). The chapter ends with an apologetic note and autobiographic verses commingled with praise.
				Part. II, Chapter IV = XXIX: On the Excellence of Clemency.
f 9*b*	f 105*a*	"	1229	Introduction. The conversion of Saʿd b. Abí Waqqáṣ.
f 10*a*	"	f 180*b*	1230	How Yúnus of Sajáwand dissuaded the Sultan Raḏhí (u'd-Dín Ibráhím of Ghazna) from levying taxes on the people of Sajáwand.
"	f 105*b*	"	1231	How Zayd b. Saʿna or Shaʿba, the Jew, was converted through the clemency of the Prophet. (The Kitábu Sharafi 'n-Nabí as the source, see above pp. 86—8).
f 10*b*	f 106*a*	"	1232	Nuʿmán b. Mundhir's admirable forbearance towards an old liar who slandered his mother.
"	"	f 181*a*	1233	The Caliph al-Manṣúr's heated conversation with Abú' dh-Dhi'b, the latter's retorts and pungent remarks overlooked and forgiven (Anecdote told in presence of al-Muʿtaṣim while he was on pilgrimage).
f 11*a*	f 106*b*	"	1234	A contrast of two characters: al-Ma'mún forgives his steward for forgetting to prepare a dish specially ordered by him, whereas Ḥumayd of Ṭús punishes his own steward for the fault of al-Ma'mún's cook.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 11*a*	f 107*a*	f 181*a*	1235	An Arab reproaches Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid and teaches him a lesson.
"	"	f 181*b*	1236	Sulaymán-i-Warráq's story of the piecious ruby broken by a jeweller and al-Ma'mún's magnanimity. (Anec. repeated).
"	"	"	1237	The story of the historic jewel, and the malicious prediction of Fadhl b. Rabí^c about the death of al-Ma'mún, as related by himself.
f 11*b*	f 107*b*	"	1238	Mu^cawiya suppresses his anger and liberates the slaves of Sallám (b.) Sa^cíd who had committed serious offence.
"	"	"	1239	Abú Muslim prefers to endure a wound rather than injure the feelings of his friend who was unconsciously hurting him.
"	"	"	1240	^cAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwan destroys the letters written by his generals to his enemy Muṣ^cab b. Zubayr and forgives all.
"	"	f 182*a*	1241	An instance of Alexander the Great's extreme forbearance.
"	f 108*a*	"	1242	A malevolent Khárijite is appeased by the examplary forbearance of the Imám Ḥasan.
f 12*a*	"	"	1243	A person, not knowing al-Ḥajjáj, rebukes him to his face, but afterwards pretends insanity and is excused by al-Ḥajjáj.
"	"	"	1244	An instance of ^cAbdu'lláh b. ^cAbbás's clemency.
"	"	"	1245	Jesus Christ, the embodiment of clemency, praises the Jews who abused him.
"	"	"	1246	Salmán, the Persian, pays no heed to the abuse of a silly person. (Saná'í's lines befitting the occasion are cited).
"	f 108*b*	"	1247	The sage, Marzubán, excuses the murderer of his son.
"	"	"	1248	The philosopher Dímaqarúdas (Democritus) laments the fate of his son's murderer.
f 12*b*	"	f 182*b*	1249	Parwíz forgives a dismissed servant, guilty of stealing a golden plate from the royal household. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, pp. 25—26).
"	f 109*a*	"	1250	The Caliph al-Ma'mún gives redress to a plaintiff, in spite of the fact that he had startled his horse and thereby injured him.
"	"	"	1251	How Aḥnaf b. Qays learned clemency from Qays b. ^cÁṣim at-Taqawí (al-Minqarí).
f 13*a*	"	"	1252	How Mu^cáwiya overcame his enemies by toleration and forbearance.
"	f 109*b*	"	1253	An instance of Qa^cqá^c b. Shúr's clemency for which he had become proverbial.
"	"	f 183*a*	1254	Aḥnaf b. Qays, another notable of Arabia, famed for his clemency.
"	"	"	1255	The definition of the word "*Ḥilm*" or clemency by al-Aṣma^cí, in presence of the Caliph Hárún.
"	"	"	1256	Mu^cáwiya swallows the corrosive remarks of the two negotiators of the Caliph ^cAlí.
f 13*b*	f 110*a*	"	1257	The unrelenting Ḥajjáj forgives his slanderer.
"	f 110*b*	f 183*b*	1258	Magnanimity of the Caliph al-Ma'mún illustrated by his treatment of Faraj [ar-Rukhkhají, the deposed governor of Fárs and Ahwáz].
f 14*a*	"	"	1259	A Christian Játhalíq (Catholicus) calms the wrath of Muṣ^cab b. Zubayr by quoting a passage from the Bible enjoining kings to be patient and give a careful hearing to appeals for justice.
"	f 111*a*	"	1260	A desperate poet's attempt to excite the Caliph Abú Bakr.

A.	D.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 14*a*	f 111*a*	f 183*b*	1261	Another instance of the Caliph Abú Bakr's forbearance to a scandal-bearer.
„	„	f 184*a*	1262	How al-Ma'mún concealed the ominous prophecy of Fadhl b. Rabíʿ.
f 14*b*	„	„	1263	The four errors of the Imám Shaʿbí, and the Caliph ʿAbdu'l-Malik's pardon.
„	f 111*b*	„	1264	The Caliph ʿAbdul-Malik's fidelity to his early promises and the cause of his success.
f 15*a*	„	„	1265	al-Muʿtamid's forbearance to the musician Gharíb who ridiculed him for sending an unrhythmical piece to set to music.
„	f 112*a*	f 184*b*	1266	Ṭughril (?) advised by his father, a ruler of Fárs, to abstain from bloodshed.
„	„	„	1267	The Caliph Muʿáwiya refuses to deliver a refugee at the request of Ziyád.
„	„	„	1268	Qualification required by Alísaʿ (Elisha) the prophet, of his successor; the choice of Dhu'l-Kifl; the failure of Iblís to excite him.
f 15*b*	f 113*a*	f 185*a*	1269	The Caliph al-Manṣúr thrusts office upon the Qádhí Sharík; the Qádhí's examplary forbearance to a malicious critic, after al-Mahdí had deposed him from his office.
f 16*a*	„	„	1270	How ʿAbdu'lláh b. Jaʿfar-i-Ṭayyár related an amusing story and succeeded in subduing the anger of Muʿáwiya.
„	„	„	1271	The frequent unwelcome visits of Dhamíra b. Shaybán al-Kilábí, and the Caliph al-Manṣúr's patience and repeated rewards.
f 16*b*	f 114*a*	f 185*b*	1272	The Caliph al-Manṣúr demands an explanation from the poet Abú Ziyád Faqíhí about his verses, and excuses him on account of his witty reply.
„	„	„	1273	The Caliph al-Mahdí, ridiculed by a person for praising his own virtues forgives him when the man persists in his impudence.
f 17*a*	f 114*b*	f 186*a*	1274	The Caliph al-Mahdí delays in conducting the prayer (Anec. repeated).
„	„	„	1275	The Caliph Hárún's pardon to a person who spreads a malicious rumour about his death on the frontier.
„	„	„	1276	A frank comparison of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbásids by an experienced client of the Umayyads in the presence of the Caliph Hárún; his acquiescence and acknowledgment of the inconsistency of the ʿAbbásids in their treatment of their officials.
f 17*b*	f 115*a*	„	1277	False accusation of a fugitive slave against his Kúfí master, the Caliph al-Manṣúr's investigation of the case and his pleasure at the admirable forbearance of the master towards his slave. (Anec. repeated).
f 18*a*	f 115*b*	f 186*b*	1278	A slave of the Caliph ʿAlí excuses himself by pleading his confidence in the Caliph's humanity and craves indulgence.
„	„	„	1279	The angels disappear when the Caliph ʿUmar opens his mouth to defend himself against the aggression of his opponent. The chapter ends without the usual form of praise.
				Part. II, Chapter V = XXX: On the Excellence of Magnanimity.
„	f 116*a*	„	1280	Introduction. The Caliph Hárún evinces signs of greatness at the early age of five, and holds a model-court of the Caliph over which be presides.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 18b	f 116b	f 187a	1281	Yaᶜqúb b. Layth's high ambitions: his desire to become famous or die in the attempt. (Data for his early occupation).
"	"	"	1282	Alexander's ambition for world-conquest, and Aristotle's advice.
"	"	"	1283	Yaᶜqúb b. Layth weds his luck to sword and conquest. (Anec. repeated).
Breaks off.	"	"	1284	Báyazíd of Bistám reverently refrains from asking God to pardon the sins of the past and the coming generations; and Abú Naṣr Tustari's (?) observation on the saint's loftiness.
	"	f 187b	1285	A comparison of the aspirations of a slave with those of his own son by Málik b. Mismaᶜ.
	f 117a	"	1286	The Sultan Maḥmúd's lofty aims on the eve of the invasion of Rayy, and his summary rejection of the pacific policy of his Wazir, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'ṣ-Ṣamad.
	"	"	1287	A singular instance of the marvellous change in the Caliph ᶜUmar II's mode of life after he took office: once velvet was too coarse for his wear, but later sack-cloth appeared to him too soft.
	"	"	1288	The Caliph al-Ma'mún's royal send-off and banquet in honour of Ṭáhir, the Ambidexter, and his army on the occasion of his campaign against ᶜAlí b. ᶜÍsá b. Máhán. (Anec. repeated).
	f 117b	"	1289	Sabuktigín's lofty advice to Mahmúd, to build the imperishable garden of magnanimity. Niẓámí ᶜArúdhí-i-Samarqandí's famous lines cited. (Anec. repeated).
	"	f 188a	1290	A royal hawk stoops down and pays the penalty which he deserved.
	"	"	1291	The story of Nuᶜmán b. ᶜAbdu'llah concerning the magnanimity of Fadhl b. Yaḥyá the Barmecide; Ṣáliḥ b. Jaríma (Khuzayma) al-Anṣárí, sceptical about the truth of the story, is wonder-struck at the way in which Fadhl squandered his wealth before him. (The *Akhbár-i-Barámika* as the source).
	f 118a	"	1292	The Caliph al-Mahdí's aspirations about his succession to the Caliphate, when conveyed to the Caliph al-Manṣúr, are highly appreciated.
	"	"	1293	The sublime ideal of the Caliph Harún in appointing Ṭúlún, the humblest of his subjects, to the governorship of Egypt, once the country of the haughty Pharaohs.
	f 118b	f 188b	1294	The king of Byzantium tests the generosity of Ḥátim of Ṭayy and finds it incomparable: his request for 100 camels with red hair and black eyes is readily granted.
	"	"	1295	ᶜUmára b. Ḥamza famous for his high-mindedness: two instances of the same: *a*) In the presence of the Caliph al-Manṣúr he renounces his claim to a piece of contested property. *b*) His absolute refusal of a gift of 3.000 dinárs.
	f 119a	"	1296	The high aims and the adventurous spirit of Abú Muslim in his early days. The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazir.

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			Part II, Chapter VI = XXXI: On the Excellence of Culture and Discipline.
f 119*a*	f 189*a*	1297	Introductory discourse on the nature of training and the acquisition of excellent manners and discipline. The fable of the Lion's share, and the inference drawn from it.
f 119*b*	„	1298	Ibn-i-Máhán punishes his falconer for impertinence towards the royal hawk.
„	„	1299	Abú ʿAbdi'llah Khaṭíb, tutor to the prince Abu'l-ʿAbbás the brother of Fakhru'd-Dawla Daylamí, punishes his ward for spitting on a royal hawk.
		1300	The ideal training of a prince at the hands of an excellent preceptor. (Cf. *M. T. N.* pp. 282—5, see also above, p. 26, *ll.* 14—21.
f 119*b*	f 189*a*	1301	How an ʿAlawí or Umawí delivered himself up voluntarily at the order of the Caliph Hárún, and Manára b. ʿAdyán's (? ʿUlayyán's) astonishment at his absolute submission. (Cf. *T. F. S.*).
f 121*a*	f 190*a*	1302	Muḥammad b. Saʿíd Anbárí's account of the imprisonment of Sulaymán b. Wahb, and the latter's story of Aḥmad-i-Ḥaṣbí's (?) unfortunate utterance of the word "*Tamwih*" before the Caliph, and precaution about the choice of words. (Cf. *T. F. S.*).
f 121*b*	f 190*b*	1303	al-Aṣmaʿí relates a personal anecdote, and the story of the wrath of the Caliph Hárún against Marwán b. [Abí] Ḥafṣa for his exclusive statement concerning the generosity of Maʿn b. Zá'ida. (*T. F. S.* pt. II, ch. VII, pp. 19—21).
f 122*a*	„	1304	al-Aṣmaʿí's enthusiasm for learning in his early days of humble study, and his unexpected rise and appointment as tutor to the prince al-Amín on the recommendation of Muḥammad the Amír of Baṣra. (*T. F. S.* pt. II, ch. VII, pp. 19—21).
f 122*b*	f 191*a*	1305	An instance of the extraordinary self-control of Abú ʿAlí Quhistání in the presence of Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid: scorpion stings endured.
„	„	1306	Ibráhím b. Adham al-Balkhí liberates a slave, admiring his absolute resignation of rights for the sake of his master.
„	„	1307	An instance of Abú Sufyán's (?) worship of Núshírwán, his over-lord.
„	„	1308	The princes al-Amín and al-Ma'mún placed the shoes of their tutor al-Kisá'í in front of his feet as a mark of extreme reverence.
„	„	1309	Malik Muḥammad (?), the ruler of Kirmán who was a strict disciplinarian, teaches the governor of Khurásán manners.
f 123*a*	„	1310	The punishment of Símá', the Turkish slave, by al-Muʿtaṣim as a disciplinary measure.
„	f 191*b*	1311	Ibráhím b. Adham's warning to a wealthy person, who was impertinently performing the rite of *Ṭawáf* or circumambulation on horseback.
„	„	1312	The rejoinder of some lads at play to a party of elderly men, that if only the latter had had the sense to observe their obligations to God, the former would never have ventured to be rude to them. (Anec. repeated, see above, 1186).
„	„	1313	Service of a special dish at table in the household of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Núḥ the Sámánid, and Abú Saʿíd (?) Khwárazmsháh's scruples about using the golden spoon.
f 123*b*	„	1314	Euphemistic interpretation of the Caliph Hárún's dream.

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f 123*b*	f 191*b*	1315	Contemptuous and ironical appeal of a jester in a court held by a governor of ᶜIráq, appointed by al-Ḥajjáj.
"	"	1316	Rabíᶜ, the chamberlain, punishes Yaᶜqúb b. Dá'úd, the nephew of al-Manṣúr, for refusing the honour of dining with the Caliph.
"	f192*a*	1317	Jealousy of Zubayda — and why Harún liked al-Ma'mún more than al-Amín. The chapter ends with an indefinite account of works written on the subject, and concludes as usual with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter VII = XXXII: On the Excellence of Mercifulness.
f 124*a*	"	1318	Introduction illustrating the glory of the compassionateness of Moses. The pleasure of the Caliph ᶜUṯẖmán at the dispersion of the revellers whom he had to punish in the interest of law and order. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* as the source, see above, p. 61, *ll.* 38—41).
f 124*b*	"	1319	Sabuktigín's compassion for a deer results in his installation. (The *Taríkh-i-Náṣirí* as the source, see above p. 62, *ll.* 1—5).
"	f 192*b*	1320	A cruel governor attains his salvation through an act of kindness to a scabby dog, that looked miserable.
"	"	1321	Another story of the redemption of a dissolute woman because she took pity on a dog. (The *Ṣaḥíḥ* of al-Bukhárí as the source).
f 125*a*	"	1322	The saint Ḥasan of Baṣra's advice to a brigand, and how the latter acted upon it, and was amply rewarded by a trader, whom he pitied and rescued from the clutches of his own gang.
f 125*b*	f 193*a*	1323	Persistent revelry and drunkenness of an old sinner, and his trial in the court of the Caliph ᶜUmar II: he finds fault with the sentence of the Caliph and is released. There is no eulogy at the end of this chapter.
			Part II, Chapter VIII = XXXIII: On the Excellence of trust and confidence in God.
f 126*b*	f 193*b*	1324	Introduction. Two pilgrims on their way to Mecca, the question of provision or no provision, and the test of true confidence.
"	f 194*a*	1325	Sabuktigín attempts to act up to the Prophet's own precept, and inculcates upon Maḥmúd the value of trust in God, and how Maḥmúd achieves victory over the Khán of Turkistán.
f 127*a*	"	1326	An instance of a Ṣúfí's perfect confidence in the power of God.
"	"	1327	The Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna does not believe in astrologers, but puts confidence in God, and is ever victorious.
f 127*b*	"	1328	An ascetic's reproach at the anxiety of his friend about the former's maintenance.
"	f 194*b*	1329	An Israelite's perfect confidence in God and his reward.
"	"	1330	The blessings of a verse from the *Qur'án*; the story of a wonderful rescue from a storm and a giant ending in a happy marriage. The chapter ends without any praise of the Wazír.

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			Part II, Chapter IX = XXXIV: On the Excellence of Generosity and Liberality.
f 128*b*	f 195*a*	1331	Introduction. Occasion of the Qur'ánic verses on sacrifice for others even in times of dire personal necessity. How the one gift was circulated among 72 brethren and was returned at last to the first donor.
f 129*a*	"	1332	Ḥusayn of Antioch's story of the sharing of one loaf in darkness.
"	"	1333	Mutual sacrifices of the cousin of Ḥuḏhayfa b. ʿAdí, Hishám, and another martyr witnessed in the Battle of Tabúk.
"	"	1334	Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Núrí, when accused of heresy along with a party of Ṣúfís who were sentenced to death, offers his head first.
"	f 195*b*	1335	Shaykh Abú Saʿíd Khargúshí's story of an Egyptian, and his loan of half a coin.
f 129*b*	"	1336	The Imám Sháfiʿí spends all his wealth in half a day during his stay in Mecca.
"	"	1337	The true meaning of generosity and the definition of a generous person.
"	"	1338	Ibn-i-Ḥátim or Bishr-i-Ḥátim's self-denial and generosity.
"	"	1339	How ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán Awzáʿí obtained 100 times more than what he charitably offered to his distressed neighbour.
"	"	1340	ʿAbdu'lláh b. Jaʿfar aṭ-Ṭayyár liberates a slave after witnessing his humanity and self-sacrifice in saving the life of a dog.
f 130*a*	f 196*a*	1341	Qásim-i-Ghassán (?)-i-Muḥammad Ṭá'í relates the story of how Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide lavished wealth and "offered it to the winds". (The *Akhbar-i-Barámika* as the source, see above, pp. 38—9).
"	"	1342	The secret of Abú ʿAlí b. Ḥasan Símjúrí's thirty years' successful governorship of Khurásán.
"	"	1343	Faḏhl b. Marwan's account of al-Ma'mún's anxiety to provide for the annual ʿÍd expenses, and Faḏhl's offer of al-Muʿtaṣim's money from the reserved fund.
f 130*b*	"	1344	Khwája Aḥmad ibnu'l-Ḥasan al-Maymandí the Wazír's valuable suggestion to the Sultan Maḥmúd as to how to win the favour of the people.
"	"	1345	The self-sacrifice of a dervish in the days of the Caliph ʿUmar II, his offer of the last dirham for the sake of God, and his barter of the sackcloth for the fish that contained a precious pearl.
			Part II, Chapter X = XXXV: On the Excellence of Benevolence
"	"	1346	Introduction. The lampoon of al-Ḥuṣayn b. Muḥammad b. Yazíd ʿAmawí (?), the poet, on ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, the Ambidexter, and the generosity shown to him by ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir. The poet, interviewed by ʿAbd-u'llah on his march to Egypt incognito, admits his fault and realises its gravity.
f 131*b*	f 197*a*	1347	Isḥáq-i-Mawṣilí, the musician, recounts an instance of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyá's generosity: ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Ṣáliḥ Háshimí's intrusion on the privacy of Jaʿfar the Barmecide, and the abstinent Háshimí's efforts to remove the awkwardness of the situation, by falling in with the luxurious pursuits

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			of the company, aud Ja'far's condescension in granting all his requests. (Couplets at the end to be noted). (Cf. *Aghani* V, pp. 118—9.)
f 132*a*	f 197*a*	1348	How Faydh b. Ṣáliḥ Abu'l-Asad relieved Dá'úd-i-Baghdádí, the client of the mother of Ja'far, from her debt-prison.
f 132*b*	f 197*b*	1349	The dismissal of Sulaymán b. Wahb by the order of al-Mutawakkil, and his benevolent treatment by Aḥmad [b.] Abi Khálid, his successor, whom he had once treated unjustly.
f 133*b*	f 198*a*	1350	How Mujíra (?) Abú 'Abbád (?), the Kátib, treats Jaḥẓatu'l-Barmakí, the poet, his old friend, in his distressed condition, and how he dismantles his own palace, and bestows all the furniture on him.
"	"	1351	How al-Mutawakkil warns his chief steward in a very mild manner about observing cleanliness while serving meals.
"	f 198*b*	1352	A Persian king releases a culprit (story repeated).
f 134*a*	"	1353	The graciousness of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa towards his neighbour. (The *Kitáb-i-'Uyúni'l-Akhyár* of an-Nasafí (?) as the source, see above, p. 65, *ll.* 28—37). The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XI = XXXVI: On the Excellence of Hospitality.
"	"	1354	Introduction describing the proverbial hospitality of the Arabs. Why 'Uqba b. Abí Mu'ayṭ accepted Islám: his apostasy and doom.
f 134*b*	f 199*a*	1355	Yazíd b. Muhallab sets Wakf', the defaulter, free simply because Wakf' was offered meals at his table.
"	"	1356	al-Ma'mún and al-Mu'taṣim test the hospitality of 'Alí b. Hishám and find him an ideal host.
f 135*a*	"	1357	The Caliph al-Mahdí as an unknown guest in the tent of an Arab, and the amusing remarks of the latter at the stranger's appetite and supposititious names.
"	"	1358	An Arab host who serves a robber guest daily with the flesh of a freshly slaughtered camel prefers to forgive the robber and bestow the camels upon him, in spite of his hospitality being abused by him.
f 135*b*	f 199*b*	1359	The clever artifice of a child, who asked for a drink of water, causes Ma'n b. Zá'ida to spare the lives of some captives.
"	"	1360	The Caliph 'Alí saddened because no guest appears during a whole week.
"	"	1361	Ibráhím the prophet would not invite an unbeliever to his house; Jibrá'íl warns him, and in consequence of his invitation the old man accepts the faith of the prophet.
"	"	1362	The remark of Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdu'llah, better known as Ṭalḥatu't-Ṭalaḥát, on Málik b. 'Awf, the chief of the tribe of Qays, that hospitality in its true sense takes into account no distinction whatsoever.
f 136*a*	"	1363	al-Ḥajjáj was hospitable enough to provide for all his people from his own kitchen, even for the invalids of his army.
"	"	1364	Malikshah the Saljúq's amusing reception by a villager, who treated him indifferently at first, and to his surprise found that the stranger was the great king himself.

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f 136*a*	f 200*a*	1365	How the Prophet carried away the sins of the miserly wife of a follower of his, and taught her the lesson of hospitality.
f 136*b*	"	1366	The extreme sense of hospitality which the wife of the Shaykh Aḥmad Khidhrawayh possessed; her desire to provide even for the dogs of the neighbourhood.
"	"	1367	Explanation given by a servant to his generous master for the delay in serving meals: his conscience would not allow him to deprive the ants which were feeding on the dishes.
"	"	1368	An object lesson from two kinds of entertainments: the essence of true hospitality is its informality.
"	f 200*b*	1369	The immortal saint Khidhr's remark on the vanity of an old man who claimed to have drained the dregs of the cups of 7,000 holy men: the offer of one cup to a needy person would have gained for him all the blessings he desired during the whole of his life.
f 137*a*	"	1370	A remarkable manifestation of the Caliph ʿUthmán's generosity on the day of the feast to the Prophet: liberation of a slave at each step the Prophet took towards his house.
"	"	1371	The old woman who sacrificed her only ewe for the party of the Caliph ʿAlí, who were strangers to her, and the consequent rewards lavished on her by the sons of ʿAlí.
"	"	1372	The posthumous generosity of a famous Arab, who appears in dream to a member of a party halting at his grave, and begs them to slaughter his camel; and how his son receives another camel in compensation.
f 137*b*	"	1373	The famous Ḥátim of Ṭayy finds himself surpassed in generosity by an old woman.
"	f 201*a*	1374	al-Aṣmaʿí relates a personal anecdote about his reception in an Arab family.
f 138*a*	"	1375	Anecdote of the same: the Arabs dislike the idea of loading the camel of the guest who is parting from them.
"	"	1376	The philosophical interpretation of the utterances of the guest of the Caliph ʿUmar.
"	"	1377	How an old man sacrifices his last goat for ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAbbás.
f 138*b*	f 201*b*	1378	The reproach of a host to a learned guest for abusing hospitality.
"	"	1379	ʿAdhudu'd-Dawla withdraws his forces sent against the hospitable ruler of Kirmán.
"	"	1380	ʿAmr ath-Thaʿálibí, the poet, runs away from Damascus on account of his satire on the Caliph Walíd b. ʿAbdu'l Malik, and, seizing an opportunity, attends the meals of the Caliph, and pleads the protection due to a guest. The chapter ends with a panegyric.
			Part II, Chapter XII = XXXVII: On the Excellence of Courage.
f 139*a*	"	1381	A preamble on the real meaning of courage, as opposed to rashness; ʿAlí, the Lion of God, famed for his valour.
f 139*b*	f 202*a*	1382	How ʿAmr b. Maʿdíkarib overcomes a party of the Arabs, and kills them and releases the victims. (*T. F. S.* as the source).
"	"	1383	The duel between ʿAlí and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wadd on the eve of the Battle of the Ditch.

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f 140*b*	f 202*b*	1384	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭahir's observation on the forces of al-Amín.
"	"	1385	How ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭahir got the title of Dhu'l-Yamınayn or Ambidexter.
"	"	1386	al-Muᶜtaṣim's order to Afshın to suppress Bábak and his Khurramites.
"	"	1387	The revolt of Naṣr b. Musayyab and al-Ma'mún's efforts to put it down; the high-mindedness of the Ambidexter shown on that occasion.
f 141*a*	f 203*a*	1388	The strength of al-Muᶜtaṣim displayed in killing a tiger single-handed.
"	"	1389	Another feat of the same: he drags a mule out of a pit.
"	"	1390	Archers, the pick of the army, as described in presence of Núshırwan.
"	"	1391	Bahrám Gúr's excellence in the art of archery. (The *Ta'rıkh-i-Mulúk-i-ᶜAjam* as the source, see above p. 56).
"	"	1392	A notable of the Baní Shaybán in the tent of Muhalhil, his skill in shooting arrows, his theft and Zayd-i-Injíl's offer of the spoil taken from the tribe of Baní Tamím.
141*b*	f 203*b*	1393	The advice of a warrior to his son. The chapter ends with a splendid encomium on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XIII = XXXVIII: On the Excellence of Patience and Endurance.
f 142*a*	"	1394	Introduction. A consolatory epistle inculcating the value of endurance and patience in distress.
"	"	1395	The ordeal of the Prophet Dániyál, Bukht-i-Naṣr's cruel dungeon, and how Irmiyya was sent to his release providentially.
f 142*b*	f 204*a*	1396	The imprisonment of Sulaymán b. Wahb, and his brother Ḥasan's consolatory lines, and the good omen taken from those lines, which effect his release and prove the value of patience in despair.
f 143*a*	"	1397	The deliverance of Músá b. ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán from imprisonment.
"	"	1398	The impudent and blasphemous conduct of a criminal aggravates his misery, till at last he invokes God and is released.
f 143*b*	f 204*b*	1399	The mutilation and brutal assassination of Qásim b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'llah b. al-Ḥusayn by the order of al-Mahdí.
"	"	1400	The calamities which befell Abú Ṣábir, his patience, his installation as the ruler of his native place and his vengeance. (Cf. *Bakhtiyár-náma*, Paris litho, pp. 45, 47—55, see also above, pp. 74—6).
f 144*b*	f 205*a*	1401	Núshírwán the Just imprisons Buzurjmihr, his endurance and release.
"	"	1402	The advice of one of the Israelite Prophets.
"	"	1403	The advice of the Prophet to an Arab who was in distress. The chapter ends without any panegyric.
			Part II, Chapter XIV = XXXIX: On the Excellence of Gratitude.
f 145*a*	f 205*b*	1404	Introductory discourse, illustrated by verses on gratitude. The story of the man and wife who thanked God and made a proper use of His rewards.
f 145*b*	"	1405	al-Ma'mún's remark on the thanksgiving of Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥuṣayn aṭ-Ṭá'í.
"	"	1406	ᶜAbdu'llah b. al-Arzáq (?)'s observation on his own wealth.
"	f 206*a*	1407	The poet [Abú Manṣúr Thaᶜálibí] tests the generosity of Khalaf b. Aḥmad Sijzi, who rewards him with 100 dinárs for each of his verses.

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f 146*a*	f 206*a*	1408	A person liberates his slave, moved by his sense of gratitude.
"	"	1409	Kaʿbu'l-Aḥbar's astonishment at the gratitude of a deformed man.
"	"	1410	ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. ʿAwf's (the author's ancestor from whom he derives his *nisba* of al-Awfí) complaint of the abundance of his wealth, and the Prophet's remark. (Autobiographic).
"	"	1411	The famous story of Mundhir b. Mughíra of Damascus about the generosity of the Barmecides, and his apology in the court of al-Ma'mún for his lamentation for his past patrons. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, pp. 21—23). The chapter ends with the usual eulogy in honour of the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XV = XL: On the value of Prudence and Vigilance.
f 147*b*	f 207*a*	1412	Introductory note on the above virtues: (Afrásiyáb cited). The treacherous assassination of Abú Jaʿfar of Simnán by ʿAbdu'l-Malik Zangí, the general of Asfár b. Shíráwayh, the Daylamite.
f 148*a*	"	1413	The prudent policy adopted by Khálid b. Walíd in his campaigns.
"	"	1414	Muʿáwiya returns the precious presents sent by Ziyád, through his emissary ʿAbdu'llah, the brother of Málik-i-Ashtar.
"	f 207*b*	1415	The Imám Ibráhím's precaution in ordering Abú Muslim to kill all the possible claimants to the Caliphate in Khurásán.
"	"	1416	Abú Muslim's command to his soldiers to leave no rift in their armour.
"	"	1417	Why al-Ma'mún appointed ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir as the governor of Egypt.
f 148*b*	"	1418	While Alptigín indulges in convivial excess, Sabuktigín detects a conspiracy of raiders, planned by the rebel governor Abú ʿAlí Kúbak of Ghazna.
"	"	1419	A prudent Wazír of a Persian King warns him against a Turkish slave, and reminds him of the traditional enmity between Írán and Túrán.
f 149*a*	f 208*a*	1420	Hárúnu'r-Rashíd delays the extermination of the Barmecides for ten years, and explains to al-Masrúr his reasons for this policy.
f 149*b*	"	1421	Sultan Maḥmúd's precaution against the rising power of Altún Tásh whom he had nominated as the governor of Khwárazm; and the threatening letter sent to him by Abú Naṣr-i-Mushkání.
"	f 208*b*	1422	al-Manṣúr's deliberation with Yazíd b. Muslim about Abú Muslim, and his secret plans for effecting his assassination.
f 150*a*	"	1423	The cause of the deposition of Shamsu'l-Maʿálí Qábús b. Washmgír. (Cf. *Qábús-Náma* (Ṭihrán Litho) pp. 87—88, see above, pp. 95—6).
"	"	1424	An object lesson drawn from the fable of the Serpent, the Camel-rider, and the Fox.
f 150*b*	f 209*a*	1425	The rashness of Kay-Khusraw in ordering the execution of his wife, the precaution of the Wazír for her safety, and the birth of the royal child, upon which the King rewards him munificently.
f 151*a*	f 209*b*	1426	The prudent measure of the Amír Ismáʿíl, the Sámáníd, in stopping a public benefactor from hospitality to all and sundry.
f 151*b*	"	1427	Alp Arslán the Saljúq ruler's apprehension of the growing power of the Báṭiniyya sect, and his grave warning to Árdim about Dih Khudáy. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 139—141, see above p. 83).

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 152*a*	f 209*b*	1428	The dissipation of the last of the Ṭáhirid rulers of Khurásán, Muḥammad b. Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'llah; the unsuccessful attempts of Ibráhím-i-ʿAzíz, the governor of Herát, to avert disaster; his alliance with Yaʿqúb b. Layth, the Ṣaffárid, and the overthrow of the Ṭáhirids. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Ṭáhiriyán* as the source, see above, p. 46). The chapter ends with a short praise of the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XVI = XLI: On the Excellence of Asceticism and Piety.
f 152*b*	f 210*a*	1429	A short introduction illustrated by a quatrain of Saʿd-i-Káfí. The abstemious character of the early governors nominated by the Caliph ʿUmar, after the subjugation of the Persian empire.
f 153*a*	f 210*b*	1430	The last advice of ʿUmar II to Maslama b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik.
"	"	1431	Salmán, the Persian: his mode of life as the governor of Syria, and what he left behind him.
f 153*b*	"	1432	The appointment of Ḥudhayfatu' bnu'l-Yamaní to the governorship of Yaman by ʿUmar; his pious rule, and his reception by the Caliph ʿUmar on his retirement.
"	"	1433	The Caliph ʿUmar's inspection of the province of Syria, and his astonishment at the self-denial of Abú ʿUbayda b. al-Jarráḥ, the governor.
"	f 211*a*	1434	The Amír Ismáʿíl, the Samánid, quells the rebel Yaʿqúb b. Layth by order of the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍhid, and rejects the bribe offered to him by Yaʿqúb b. Layth, from fear of the day of Judgment. (This story occurs in the *Siyásat-Náma* in a slightly different version on pp. 16—17, and in this book also, pt. I, ch. VI, 383, see above p. 79).
f 154*a*	"	1435	The reason of ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir the Ambidexter's selling his favourite slave Saʿd.
f 154*b*	f 211*b*	1436	Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, the ruler of Khurásán punishes Ayyúb Shádán, his court-physician, for his impudence, and ʿAlí b. Ḥasan Shaʿri(?) the courtier's intercession.
f 155*a*	"	1437	The fate of Kámil, the notorious slave, and ʿAyyásh the courtier's piety and action against the evil, at the command of Ghálib b. ʿAbdu'llah, the Amír of Khurásán. (The last three anecdotes are probably taken from as-Sallámí's *Ta'ríkh-i-Wulat-i-Khurasan*, see above p. 46, Par. 1).
f 155*b*	f 212*a*	1438	The Caliph al-Manṣúr's intention to inspect the title-deeds of private property in Baṣra, and The Qáḍhí Ibnu's-Sawwár's grave warning as to the effect of the sighs of the oppressed.
f 156*a*	"	1439	al-Manṣúr's opinion about public and private rights.
"	"	1440	The silent complaint of the widow whose children were starving and the Caliph ʿUmar's swift retribution and humble supplication. (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 128—9, see above, p. 82).
"	f 212*b*	1441	The Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna's earnest wish to pay a special visit to Khurásán in order to interview the saint Abu'l-Ḥasan of Kharaqán; and the blessing of the saint on the Sultán.
f 156*b*	"	1442	The scruples of an ascetic who was making atonement for having picked up an apple without the permission of its three owners. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Part II, Chapter XVII = XLII: On the Excellence of Effort and Endeavour.
f 157*a*	f 213*a*	1443	Introduction. The causes of the downfall of the Ṭáhirids.
"	"	1444	The advice of one of the rulers of the Hayáṭila to his son, about the value of enterprise.
f 157*b*	"	1445	The great Wazír Niẓámu'l-Mulk's advice to his son about effort. (The *Waṣiyyat-Náma* of Niẓámu'l-Mulk as the source).
"	"	1446	al-Manṣúr's energy in suppressing the revolt of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'llah 'Alawí in Khurásán.
"	f 213*b*	1447	The Amír Ismá'íl the Sámánid's prompt actions against Muḥammad b. Hárún-i-Sarakhsí the rebellious governor of Gurgán, and his capture.
f 158*a*	"	1448	The halt of Ya'qúb b. Layth after his victory of Kamnábád (?) for the purpose of punishing a chief of his own army.
"	"	1449	The activity of Qays b. Ṣadaqa in appealing to Sanjar the Saljúq for help, and his zealous effort to recover possession of his dependency.
f 158*b*	"	1450	The immediate action of the Amír [Naṣr II] b. Aḥmad b. Ismá'íl, the Sámánid ruler of Khurásán, against the rebellious governor of Sinjáb, and the Wazír Abu'l-Fadhl al-Bal'amí's acknowledgment of his negligence and irresoluteness. (The *Waṣáyá of Ardashír* is referred to by the Amír in his consultation with the Wazír, see above, p. 56).
"	f 214*a*	1451	The cause of al-Mu'taṣim's war against the Byzantines, the march on Amorium or 'Ammúriyya, the birthplace of Theophilus, and the occasion of the famous panegyric of Abú Tammám, the compiler of the *Ḥamása*. (Cf. *al-Fakhrí* ed. Derenbourg pp. 316—8).
f 159*a*	"	1452	Ya'qúb b. Layth, the Ṣaffárid, tries his will-power, by basking in the hot weather before starting on his campaign against Herát. (See above, I. xiii. 717).
f 160*b*	f 214*b*	1453	Jibrá'íl's message and the persistence of the Prophet and his followers during the siege of the Baní Qurayẓa; Ka'b b. Asad's three proposals to the people of his tribe, their refusal and their extermination. (Cf. *H. S. R.* pp. 684—9). The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazír, illustrating his administrative talents and energetic rule in India.
			Part II, Chapter XVIII = XLIII: On the Propriety of Silence and Speech.
f 161*a*	f 215*a*	1454	Introduction. The excellence of man over the animal kingdom owing to his power of speech, illustrated from the Verses of the *Qur'án* and the lines of al-Mutanabbí; and the superiority of silence to speech at times. A story taken from the old Hindú books about the weaver of brocades who exceedingly feared his own tongue, and the amazing experience of the robber who saved him from the punishment of death at the hands of the ruler, for whom the fine cloth of gold was being made.
f 161*b*	f 215*b*	1455	Buzurjmihr's alternative choice of the best things which Providence can bestow on mankind: natural wisdom, or good breeding or good nature, failing these silence, otherwise death. (Anec. repeated.)

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 161*b*	f 215*b*	1456	A young man's clever appeal to Muḥammad b. ^cAbdu'l-Malik to redress the wrongs done to him by one of his governors.
f 162*a*	"	1457	^cIyás b. Mu^cáwiya's retort to a Qádhí on his rash judgment and his subsequent emolument at the court of ^cAbdu'l-Malik.
"	"	1458	An anecdote illustrating how eloquence fails a needy person: Fadhl b. Rabí^c in the days of his decline goes to Abú ^cAbbád, the favourite of al-Ma'mún, to ask his help and finds himself inarticulate.
"	"	1459	One of the captured horsemen of ^cAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Ash^cath laughs scornfully before the gibbet at the folly of his intercessor Zayd b. Aslam, the secretary of Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf, and at the obdurateness of his master.
"	f 216*a*	1460	A condemned partisan of al-Mukhtár asks Muṣ^cab b. Zubayr to look at his beautiful face in the mirror, and begs him not to pollute it with the sin of assassination, and saves his life.
f 162*b*	"	1461	A profligate youth of Baghdád in despondency thinks of suicide, a ferryman dissuades him and wishes him good luck; the youth, by chance, enters the palace of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd uninvited, and when caught, tickles the fancy of the great Caliph, and obtains immense rewards.
f 163*a*	"	1462	The experience of Ibráhím b. Adham, the Ṣúfí saint of Balkh, with the Syrian hermits, hence his taciturnity and his firm conviction, that „Gnosis is nearer to Silence than to Speech".
"	"	1463	A prince is brought to grief through neglecting the lesson of silence taught to him by his tutor.
"	f 216*b*	1464	Fadhl b. Sahl invites his doom by spreading incautious and unwise statements about his efforts for the installation of al-Ma'mún, and by persuading al-Ma'mún to acknowledge the apostolical succession of ^cAlí b. Músá ar-Ridhá. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá-i-Baní'l-^cAbbas* as the source, see above, p. 47—8).
f 163*b*	"	1465	Aḥmad b. Yúsuf relates the story of al-Ma'mún's machinations against Ibráhím (b. Mahdí, his uncle), on account of a heedless expression, and how Ibráhím saved himself by giving a satisfactory explanation. (Cf. *T.F.S.*, pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 46—7). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír, the patron of the author.
			Part II, Chapter XIX = XLIV: On the Excellence of Fidelity to Promises and good Faith.
f 164*b*	f 217*a*	1466	Introductory remarks about good faith, illustrated with quotations and lines from various poets. Ghádira, the favourite slave-girl of al-Amín, breaks her promise after the death of al-Amín and gives herself up to the wishes of al-Ma'mún; the apparition of al-Amín in the bridal chamber, and his warning and the death of Ghádira.
f 165*a*	f 217*b*	1467	The infatuated Amír of Balkh, and his affair with the wife of the self-sacrificing merchant of Baghdád.
f 166*a*	f 218*a*	1468	A dealer in coarse cloth, a disciple of the Khwája Imám Abú Bakr Fadhl-u'llah, a holy person of Bukhárá, earnestly appeals to his master for the release of his son, convicted of adultery, and secures it.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 166b	f 218a	1469	How Saʿid b. ʿAmr obtains the release of his old friend, Yazíd b. Muhallab, from ʿUmar II.
„	f 218b	1470	The victory of Khudadad, the grocer, over the Khárijites, resulting from the observance by Fadhl b. Sahl of his old friendship.
f 167a	„	1471	Isḥáq ʿUqaylí's fidelity to the Caliph al-Manṣúr.
„	„	1472	Generous treatment of Khwája Abu'l-ʿAbbás al-Isfará'ini, the Wazír of the Sultan Maḥmud of Ghazna, towards his old acquaintance Abú Ṣaláḥ, the tailor from Bukhárá. (The story is related on the authority of Abú Aḥmad ʿAbdu'llah b. Aḥmad the Faqíh, one of the contemporary doctors in the School of Balkh, founded by the Wazír Abu'l-ʿAbbás).
f 168a	f 219a	1473	A contemporary of Hishám b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik relates the glorious deeds of Hishám against the Byzantines without any fear of the Caliph al-Manṣúr, the traditional enemy of the Umayyads.
„	„	1474	How Abú ʿAbdu'llah rose to be the minister of the Caliph al-Mahdí, and fulfilled his promise to his colleagues, Aḥmad Abú Ayyúb and Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid. (This story resembles the legend of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk and his promise to his friends). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XX = XLV: On the Excellence of Charity Towards Kith and Kin.
f 168b	f 219b	1475	A discourse and exhortation on the above virtue. The appearance of the Imam Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad 'aṣ-Ṣádiq before al-Manṣúr and the citation of the Holy Tradition bearing on the treatment of kinsfolk, and al-Manṣúr's taking compassion on the ʿAlawí. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá-i-Baní'l-ʿAbbás* as the source, see above p. 47).
f 169a	„	1476	Ibráhím b. al-Mahdí pleads guilty, appeals to al-Ma'mún, and obtains his pardon.
f 169b	f 220a	1477	The Qádhí Ibnu's-Sawwár of Baghdád restores the son of his old friend to prosperity. (See ʿAwfí's transl. of *T. F. S.* [Ind. off. 1432] f 5a).
f 170a	f 220b	1478	An old Byzantine seeks the protection of a young soldier of the invading army of Maslama b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik who stands security for him because the old man chose him alone for that purpose; and in the end he proves to be the old man's son, (See *T. F. S.* pt I, ch. V, p. 92—3). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XXI = XLVI: On the value of Secrecy and keeping Counsel.
f 171a	„	1479	Introduction: Ibnu'l-Muqaffaʿ's quotation of the maxim of Núshírwán about secrecy. The cause of Buzurjmihr's assassination. Núshírwán punishes Buzurjmihr with death for divulging his secret about the adopted daughter.
f 171b	f 221a	1480	Aḥmad Abú Ṭayyib Marwán, the secretary of the Caliph al-Muʿtadhid, pays the penalty of life for an offence of a similar nature.
„	„	1481	Núshírwán sentences the Governor of Armenia to death for divulging the secrets of the state.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 171b	f 221a	1482	al-Muᶜtaṣim orders the execution of ᶜAjib, the confidant of al-Ma'mun, for disclosing the secrets of his patron even though it tended to promote his own interests.
f 172a	f 221b	1483	ᶜAbdu'l-Malik enjoins secrecy on his son Walíd and refuses to hear the secrets of Muᶜáwiya.
"	"	1484	The deliberation of al-Ma'mún with his advisers about ruining Fadhl b. Sahl, and how the secret leaked out through Ibrahím b. ᶜAbbás.
f 172b	"	1485	The secret agent of Kisrá, jealous of the Wazír Mahbúd, accuses him of poisoning the king's food, and compasses his death, later Kisra detects the mischief of the informer and kills him.
f 173a	f 222a	1486	Enmity between Abú ᶜAbdi'llah al-Barídí, the Wazír and Ibnu'r-Rá'iq, the general, of al-Muttaqí. Muḥammad b. Khalaf betrays the secret of the latter concerning the marriage of the Caliph's son with the daughter of the Amír of Mawṣil, called Abu'l-Hayja', who consequently kills Ibnu'r-Rá'iq. The *Ta'ríkh-i-Dawlat-i-ᶜAbbasíyan* as the source, see above, p. 49. (Cf. also *Eclipse*, ed. by Margoliouth, vol. II, p. 27, Arabic text).
f 173b	"	1487	Shápúr, the Persian king, tells a state secret to all his ministers though one of them advises the king to tell each of them separately.
"	f 222b	1488	The scruples of the Sultan Maḥmúd in marrying the sister of his favourite, Ayáz; and the arguments, advanced by Abú Naṣr Mushkání in favour of the marriage of the ruler with his subject, based on the historical accounts of the choices of Qubád and Bahrám Gúr. The chapter concludes with a panegyric on the Wazír, in which the Arabian descent of his patron is emphasised, and incidentally the form of the rhyme proves that his father's *Kunya* was Abú Saᶜd and not Abú Saᶜíd.
			Part II, Chapter XXII = XLVII: On the Excellence of Honesty.
f 174b	f 223a	1489	An introduction on the virtue of honesty in which the *Kitáb-i-Khalq or Khulqi'l-Insán* of the Shaykh Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmúd of Níshápúr is quoted (see above, p. 66). An old wretch, with the idea of disappointing his nephew, gives his wealth in the form of a load of tin to be thrown into the sea; it is saved by an honest merchant of Baṣra, who restores it to the rightful claimant. (The above-mentioned book is the source.)
f 175a	"	1490	The surprising honesty of a pick-pocket, who returned the purse of a rich merchant, which was given in to his keeping by mistake.
"	"	1491	The retort of Yazíd b. Mazyad, the governor of Ádharbáyján and Armenia, to Yazíd-i اسکی(?), and the Caliph Hárún's preference for a mean but honest governor over an obliging but dishonest one.
"	f 223b	1492	The story of the merchant who lost the large ruby of the Amír of Khurásán, and the honesty of his agent who accidentally found the lost ruby and restored it to the merchant who had been reduced to poverty. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, pp. 11—13).
f 175b	"	1493	Another story of the same kind. (Cf. *Ibid.* pt. II, pp. 13—14).
f 176b	f 224a	1494	An honest women restores after one year a lost money-bag of Khálid b. Rabíᶜ.

D.	G	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 176*b*	f 224*b*	1495	The story of the three sons of Saʿd b. Naṣr of Surra-man-Ra'á, and the appointment of Salama, one of them, in the household of the Amír Yúsuf Bughá, and later, as the trustee of the children of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, on account of his honesty.
f 177*a*	"	1496	Fudhayl b. ʿIyádh, the leader of the bandits, acts as a trustee for one of his victims, and surprises him by his piety which was incompatible with robbery.
f 177*b*	"	1497	The merchant of Damascus who came to grief on account of his dishonesty, and his son who refused to betray the trust of a dead warrior, and restored the money to his heirs, and was in the end rewarded with the office of the treasurer of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán.
f 178*a*	f 225*a*	1498	The story of a dethroned prince who purchases three wise sayings from a wisdom-dealer, and tries to act upon them; consequently he gets back his throne, is delivered from evil, and attains to glory.
f 179*a*	f 225*b*	1499	A Qádhí of Baṣra trusts the owner of a gambling den more than he does himself, and advises a person to deposit wealth with him, giving an account of the honesty of that person. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XXIII = XLVIII: On Beauty and Nobility of Character.
ff 179	f 225*b*–f 226*a*	1500	Introduction dealing with the inherent qualities in man. A striking contrast of the natural tendencies of ʿAdí b. Ḥátim of Ṭayy and his brother; their mother's experience while they were infants and later when they distributed charity from the Tower of Doles.
f 179*b*	f 226*a*	1501	Ghunayya, daughter of ʿAfíf and wife of the famous Ḥátim of Ṭayy, could not resist the noble passion of generosity even though she possessed only a few camels which had been allotted to her after she had suffered much distress.
f 180*a*	"	1502	The sad experience of an Arab who brought up a wolf-cub on the milk of a she-goat in the hope of changing the natural ferocity of the beast.
"	"	1503	The long-cherished hostility of ʿAbdu'llah b. Málik towards Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide, and the noble attitude of Yaḥyá towards a scribe who forged a letter of recommendation from Yaḥyá to his enemy.
f 180*b*	f 226*b*	1504	The Caliph ʿAlí's advice to an old man on conduct.
"	"	1505	The Prophet's grief at the death of an ill-natured orphan, and his explanation to his wife ʿÁ'isha.
"	"	1506	ʿAmr b. Saʿd's astonishment at al-Ma'mún's wearing an old and worn-out silk robe, and the Caliph's remark that the real dignity of the Caliphate does not consist in good clothes.
f 181*a*	"	1507	After the victorious entry of al-Ma'mún into Baghdád, he gives a fair warning to the notables of the Quraysh and to the sons of ʿAbbás, who had raised the banner of revolt under Ibráhím b. Mahdí.
"	"	1508	Aḥmad-i-Mudabbir (?)'s statement about al-Mutawakkil's secret order, concerning the execution of his proclamations and commands, to carry out immediately those that enhance the welfare of the public, and to submit the others to him again for his consideration.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 181*a*	f 227*a*	1509	Thumáma b. Ashras's interpretation of the saying of the Prophet about the 72 sects in Islám, and the Caliph al-Ma'mún's appreciation. (Anec. repeated I, i, 35).
"	"	1510	al-Ma'mún's early attempts to suppress rumours afloat in Baghdad; the gossip of the mill-owner and the gentle admonition of the Caliph. (*Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabari* as the source.)
f 181*b*	"	1511	The happy marriage of an accomplished couple, arising chiefly from the nobility of their characters; Raja, the son of Málik b. Saᶜd, one of the ruined nobles of the court of al-Ma'mún, is married to the beautiful and virtuous daughter of Málik b. Ḥíra (?), the governor of Baṣra.
f 182*b*	f 227*b*	1512	Muḥammad b. Zayd, the ᶜAlawí ruler of Ṭabaristán, recounts the story of the clemency of Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí towards Muḥammad b. Hishám b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik, their traditional enemy, in the affair of the ruby which al-Manṣúr wanted to extort from him, and prevents his people from hurting a descendant of Yazíd. (Cf. *T. F. S.*, pt. II, ch. VII, pp. 2—3).
f 183*a*	f 228*a*	1513	Saᶜíd b. Hishám's anxiety to understand the connection between the *Qur'án* and the conduct of the Prophet; and ᶜÁ'isha's explanation that the *Qur'án* was his code of life.
"	"	1514	The Caliph ᶜAlí's supreme testimony to the glorious character of the Prophet.
f 183*b*	"	1515	Ṭáhir II presents to al-Mutawakkil a couple of verses, composed by his learned tutor Abú ᶜUbayd Muḥammad, in the form of a panegyric, embodying the ten prime qualities found in ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, whereupon the Caliph reinstates him in place of his father, as the governor of Khurásán.
"	"	1516	Courteousness of the youthful al-Ma'mún towards al-Aṣmaᶜí, his tutor, who had punished him severely, and his refusal to complain against him.
f 184*a*	f 228*b*	1517	The Caliph Hárún's practical demonstration before Zubayda of the contrast between the habits and tastes of his two sons al-Amín and al-Ma'mún; the former as a pleasure-loving prince, and the latter as a serious student of the problems of the state and ever ready for emergencies. (The *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* is mentioned as the book which al-Ma'mún used constantly to study, probably the work of ᶜAbdu'llah ibnu'l-Muqaffaᶜ, called the *Khuday-Náma*, see above, pp. 55—9).
f 184*b*	f 229*a*	1518	Jaᶜfar b. Sulaymán al-Háshimí, the governor of Baṣra, unable to bear the sight of an old servant of his being flogged severely for having stolen a precious necklace of pearls from his treasury, excuses the man on the pretext of his forgetfulness. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, p. 25).
f 185*a*	"	1519	The secretary Amír ᶜAbbás [b.] ᶜUmar-i Ghanawí strikes three blows on the neck of one of the poor nobles of the Diyár-i-Rabíᶜa, and atones for his misplaced joke by offering a patent to him in return, which the man presents to one of his governors, demands a high price for it, and is relieved from poverty. (*T. F. S.* as the source). The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazír.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Part II, Chapter XXIV = XLIX: On the Value of Firmness of Resolution and Determination.
f 186a	f 229b	1520	A short introduction. The dirty habit of Hárún in his childhood of eating clay, and the admonitory remarks of his tutor, Khalíl b. Aḥmad, the famous grammarian, in consequence of which the Caliph determined to abandon this habit
"	"	1521	The early profession of the Mufassir Qaffál-i Sháshí as a locksmith, his admiration for learning, and his firm determination to acquire knowledge, in spite of his age and discouragement. He takes an object lesson for himself from the falling drop which left its mark on the granite rock, and becomes a great theologian at last.
f 186b	"	1522	An Israelite hermit, who lived in seclusion on the peak of a mountain and though the forms of devotion which he used were irregular, was nevertheless enabled by his faith in God to cure the sick on his annual appearance.
"	f 230a	1523	The story of an ascetic, who, in testing the truth of his teacher's saying about persistence and the achievement of the ideal, takes up the seemingly impossible notion of marrying the daughter of the Caliph, surmounts all obstacles, and even goes to the length of draining the Euphrates and presenting to the Caliph the signet-ring which had dropped from his hand into the river.
f 187b	f 230b	1524	The story of one of the Wazírs of the ruler of Samarqand, related on the authority of the grandfather of the author al-ᶜAwfí; and the story of the two slaves of Alexander the Great, Bashír and Nadhír. (*Tá'ríkh-i-Iskandar-i-Rúmí* as the source).
f 188a	"	1525	The Sultan Ra<u>dh</u>iyyu'd-Din Ibráhím of Ghazna's order to a stone-bearer to lay down his burden. The stone though an obstacle remained at the same place in Ghazna. (See above, pp. 30, 67—8).
"	"	1526	The above Sultan's resentment at the unsatisfactory conduct of his successor (See above, p. 68).
"	f 231a	1527	A contemporary account of the forgery of coins by one of the generals, and Iltutmish's examplary behaviour. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XXV = L: On the Merits of Consultation and the Defects of independent Judgment.
f 188b	"	1528	A short introduction. ᶜAmr b. Ibráhím's inquiry about the counsellors of the Caliph ᶜAlí and his rival Muᶜáwiya. The former had none, while the latter was guided by the diplomat ᶜAmr ibnu'l-ᶜÁṣ.
f 189a	f 231b	1529	al-Aṣmaᶜí's appreciation of the verses of Bashshár b. Burd, on the excellence of Consultation; and the author al-ᶜAwfí's apt citations from the poet al-Mutanabbí on the same subject.
"	"	1530	The consultation of Núḥ b. Abí Maryam, the disciple of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa, with a Jewish sage concerning the marriage of the former's

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			daughter. Acting upon his advice, Nuḥ, the Qáḏhí of Marw, chooses one of his Turkish slaves, named Mubarak, for the hand of his daughter, to whom is born ᶜAbdu'llah b. Mubárak, the famous traditionist and divine of Khurásán. (Cf. Ṭabari II, pp. 1, 5, etc., also, Ibn-Khallikán, (Wust.) Biog. No. 321: ᶜAbdu'llah b. 118 A. H. = 736 A. D., d. 182 A. H. = 799 A. D.). (There are different versions about the marriage).
f 189*a*	f 231*b*	1531	Bashshár b. Burd's satire on Yaᶜqúb b. Da'ud, the Wazír of al-Mahdí, and the trap prepared for the poet by Ibrahím, one of the advisers of the Wazír, and his assassination.
f 189*b*	"	1532	Ḥasan b. Sahl, the Wazír of al-Ma'mun, consults his advisers about the execution of Zayd b. Músá, the ᶜAlawi, who was captured after his revolt in Ṭabaristan, and spares his life lest the Caliph should change his mind, as he ultimately did.
f 190*a*	f 232*a*	1533	al-Manṣúr gives his uncle ᶜAbdu'llah b. ᶜAli into the charge of ᶜÍsá b. Músá and secretly orders his assassination; while ᶜÍsá consults Yúnus Abú Farwa [1]), who warns him of the the Caliph's treacherous plan and prevents him from carrying it out.
"	"	1534	The cause of the weakness of the Samánids being the dismissal of the experienced Wazír, Núḥ II favours the appointment of Abu'l-Ḥasan ᶜUtbí Jaᶜfar, and overrides the opinion of the veteran general as-Símjúrí and sends Aḥmad-i-Fárs to disgrace him publicly. (Cf. The *Chahar Maqála* pp. 103—5 and note the differences).
f 190*b*	f 232*b*	1535	Khálid the Barmecide's opinion, first, in favour of the preservation of the Aywán-i Kisrá, and afterwards his explicit desire to see it demolished at any cost.
f 191*a*	"	1536	The refusal of the Khwaja Abu'l-ᶜAbbas al-Isfará'iní of the slave which the Sultan Maḥmúd wanted. (Anec. repeated *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíni* as the source, see above p. 62).
f 191*b*	f 233*a*	1537	Two obstinate litigants, who invited misery on themselves in the presence of the judge.
f 192*a*	f 233*b*	1538	The fatal obstinacy of Muayyidu'l-Mulk, the great Wazír Niẓámu'l-Mulk, in dismissing Jaᶜfar Zawzaní, the secretary, in spite of the orders of Maliksháh the Saljúq.
f 192*b*	f 234*a*	1539	The Ílak Khán of Máwará'u'n-Nahr unwisely attacks the country of Khurásán, and is reduced to sore straits by the invading Sultan Maḥmúd. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* as the source, see above p. 62).
f 193*a*	"	1540	Faḏhl b. Sahl takes vengeance on his opponents, in spite of the Caliph's disapproval, and is ruined. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír, and with it Pt. II also.

[1]) The correct reading is Ibn Farwa (Ṭabarí III, 329).

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát.

Part III, Chapters LI—LXXV. On the Despicability of Vices: Blamable qualities and Contemptible Traits in Human Nature.

Part III, Chapter I = LI. On the Diversity of Temperament in Mankind.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Introduction to the third part:
f 193*a*	f 234*b*		Doxology, dedicatory note with a panegyric on his patron, Muḥammad b. Abí Sʿad al-Junaydí called Qiwámu'd-Dín, entitled the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, the Wazír of the Sultan Iltutmish of India, who ruled in Dehli A.H. 607—633 = A.D. 1211—1236.
"	"		An exordium to the first chapter, the old Greek conception of the influence of the Humours on the temperament of Man, and the causes of diversity in human nature.
"	"	1541	Drinking as the best test of the temperament of mankind, and the influence of wine on different people. (The *Ṭabá'iʿu'l-Ḥayawán* of al-Jáḥiẓ as the source, see above, pp. 96—7).
f 194*a*	f 235*a*	1542	al-Jáḥiẓ's surprise at the waxing eloquence of ʿAbdu'llah ʿUmayy (?) after he had taken excessive wine, at a banquet given by the sons of ʿAbdu'l-Malik Riyáshí (?). (See above, p. 97).
"	"	1543	An observation on the mentality of short-statured persons, taken from the *Kitabu'l-Firasa*, and supported by the experience of Núshírwán about a dwarf which is related on the authority of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Akásira*. (See above, pp. 100; 56, 60).
"	"	1544	The temperament of Altún-Tásh, the Chamberlain of the Amír Ismáʿíl the Sámánid, exhibited in a striking contrast to that of ʿUmar II, on a similar occasion of grievance.
f 194*b*	f 235*b*	1545	A philosopher, when questioned about the art of judging character from features, advises a person not to make himself doubly ugly, and quotes the retort of Plato to a stupid disciple of his, who had taunted him for his ugliness. (The *Kitábu'l-Firása* is mentioned in this connection).
"	"	1546	The perverted Ník-shinás meets his retribution by the command of Kay-Khusraw.
"	"	1547	Diogenes, the philosopher, praises an old stupid person for having dyed his beard, and when questioned by his disciples says that grey hair and foolishness are incompatible; the dyeing of his beard eliminated one incongruity, hence his praise.
"	"	1548	Alexander the Great cannot tolerate that his namesake should be an uncivilised boor.
"	"	1549	The story of the four travellers, and the mental test applied by an Indian princess to detect the one who stole a precious pearl from one of his fellow-travellers. (An instance of experimental psychology, as practised in ancient India, drawn from a work of Jáná, an Indian philosopher).

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 195*b*	f 236*b*	1550	Argument about the heredity of Temperament in mankind.
„	„	1551	The offspring of a noble father, named Zakí (?), and a wicked mother, called Núsh (?), displays his mixed nature by turns.
f 196*a*	„	1552	A striking contrast of the temperament of ʿAdí and ʿAbdu'llah, the two sons of Ḥátim of Ṭayy, and the experiences of their mother while they were sucklings. (Anecdote repeated, see above, II. xxiii. 1500). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the above-mentioned Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter II = LII: On the Contemptibility of Rancour and Envy.
f 196*b*	„	1553	Introduction on the despicability of envy illustrated from the Verses of the *Qur'án* and Tradition. The Prophet predicts the arrival of one of the Helpers and designates him as one of the people of Paradise; ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿÁṣ tests him regularly for three days, and finds him quite free from jealousy.
„	f 237*a*	1554	The retort of Abú Manṣúr-i-ʿAzíz, the Samánid Wazír, to one of his envious opponents.
„	„	1555	The preacher who repeated the same formula daily at the court of one of the Kisrá's, and his slanderous enemy who falls a victim to his own prey.
f 197*b*	f 237*b*	1556	The Jewess who wanted to poison a follower of the Prophet incidentally becomes the cause of poisoning her own sons.
„	„	1557	A malevolent neighbour implores his slave to kill him, and throw his corpse at the door of his virtuous neighbour in order to accuse him of murder. (*Khalqu'l-Insán*, as the source, see above, p. 66).
„	„	1558	The four old Wazírs of the ruler Álan[1]) conspire against the new favourite of the king, called Abú Tammám, and send him away to ask the hand of the daughter of the Khan of Turkistán, which was considered to be a perilous undertaking; Abú Tammám succeeds in his mission and brings back the bride of the king; again the Wazírs contrive to bring him under the suspicion of the king, and succeed this time. The king kills him, but soon after discovers the plot and kills all the other Wazírs in turn. (Cf. *Bakhtiyár-náma*, Paris litho. pp. 107, 110—117).
f 199*a*	f 238*a*	1559	The jealousy of Faḏẖl and Yaḥyá, the Barmecide brothers, against ʿAbdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuzáʿí ending in their own downfall. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Ál-i-ʿAbbás*, as the source, see above, p. 47). The chapter ends as usual with an encomium on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter III = LIII: On the Contemptibility of Avarice and the Meanness of Greedy Persons.
f 199*b*	f 238*b*	1560	Introduction illustrated with a few lines from the poet Saná'í on the evils of Avarice. Alexander the Great's encounter with the Faghfúr of Chín, who surprises Alexander by his visit, in disguise, and by the numbers of his army.

1) In *Alfu Layla* ابلان

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 200*a*	f 239*a*	1561	Núshírwán pleased at the motive of an aged man, who was planting a nutmeg tree for the benefit of his successors. (Anec. repeated. Cf. above, I, xvi, 887). (Cf. also *N. S. N.* p. 118).
f 200*b*	"	1562	A monk notices a very edifying inscription on a tablet in one of the Egyptian tombs. (A quatrain on predestination, "*Qadhá*", cited.)
"	"	1563	The invitation of Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik, the governor of Sind, sent to Khalíl b. Aḥmad and his reply in verse.
"	"	1564	The fable of the toiling ant and the greedy wasp. (The *Laṭá'ifu'l-Ishárát* as the source (?)).
"	f 239*b*	1565	The discontented guest of Sulaymán-i-Dárání.
f 201*a*	"	1566	Yaʿqúb b. Layth's tribute to Sahl b. ʿAbdu'llah at-Tustarí for healing him from an incurable disease, and the saint's remark about worldly gains. (Cf. above, I, iii, 99).
"	"	1567	Hippocrates's seclusion and refusal to treat the King.
"	"	1568	A beautiful and rich heiress requests Thábit-i-Bannání to offer her hand to Málik-i-Dínár, which the latter does not accept. (Cf. *A. T. A.* I, p. 42, *ll.* 6—11).
f 201*b*	"	1569	The greedy cat of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of Baghdád and the remark which he made on seeing her dead.
f 202*a*	"	1570	The mania of a stupid person to become rich: his dream and the consequent disillusionment. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter IV = LIV: On the Contemptibility of Covetousness.
f 202*b*	f 240*a*	1571	Introduction illustrated by Kháqání's verses. The Prophet David was taught the art of making armour to earn his livelihood from his own handicraft.
f 203*a*	f 240*b*	1572	Gushtásp, while in exile, works as a blacksmith and maintains himself in Constantinople, and when re-crowned makes a training in handicrafts compulsory as part of the education of the notables of Persia. (*Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-ʿAjam*, as the source, see above, p. 56).
"	"	1573	ʿAmr b. Ẓarib the Arab sage's advice to his son, and his verses on the dangers that beset a covetous person.
"	"	1574	The Prophet abhors two kinds of greed, the one which is ingrained in a man's nature and the other which leads to begging of an ungenerous person.
"	"	1575	A ruler of Khurásán rejects the composition of a poet on hearing that the poet had no desire for gain.
"	"	1576	The Caliph al-Manṣúr wants a story-teller. Rabíʿ, the Chamberlain, chooses Ibnu'l-ʿAbbás (?) on condition that he should not ask for anything from the Caliph, but the humourist cleverly suggests and gets his reward.
f 203*b*	"	1577	The ardent desire of a prince of Kirmán to learn a craft. He selects mat-weaving through which he saves himself from the horrible dungeon of a Jew, and contrives to capture him.
f 204*b*	f 241*b*	1578	How a tribesman of Maʿadd become notorious for covetousness, and the origin of the proverb "*Muqallibu's-Ṣakhra*".

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 204*b*	f 241*b*	1579	The story of the avaricious Abu'l-ᶜAla' Ashᶜab b. Jubayr (d. 154 A. H.), and the lads and the brazier. (Cf. Ibn Khallikan (Wust.) Biog. No. 293).
f 205*a*	"	1580	Ashᶜab the Greedy afraid of informing his mother suddenly of the gift of a slave, lest she might burst to death with joy.
"	"	1581	Ashᶜab the Greedy's description of the depth of his covetousness at Salim b. ᶜAbdu'llah's request.
"	"	1582	The monk who first acted on the precept of Jesus and offered his garment to a beggar, but on the importunate demands of the greedy person adopted the precept of Muḥammad the Prophet, and punished him. (Thaᶜalibí's *Kitab-i-Mulaḥu'n-Nawadir* (?) as the source).
"	"	1583	The greedy Ashᶜab behaves shamelessly for the sake of victuals in presence of the family of Sálim b. ᶜAbdu'llah b. ᶜUmar. (*Majmaᶜu'l-Amthal* as the source). The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
			Part III, Chapter V = LV: On Robbers and strange Anecdotes about them.
f 206*a*	f 242*a*	1584	Introduction; different kinds of robbery and punishment. A novice, advised by the leader of a gang in Níshápúr to eat with his left hand, since the right one might be cut off at any moment.
"	"	1585	A villain robs the property of a merchant from a storehouse in an inn, and escapes feloniously through a tunnel.
"	f 242*b*	1586	Sulaymán, the chief of a gang, orders the restoration of the property of a person whose salutations were accepted. (*Mulaḥu'n-Nawadir* as the source).
"	"	1587	Strange scruples of a robber who came out of the treasury of Malik Mu'ayyad of Mawara'u'n-Nahr without stealing anything, simply because he happened to taste the salt of the Malik; consequently he is made a general of the army of Níshápúr.
f 207*a*	"	1588	The story of a villager who first lived as a robber and, after being punished, felt penitent and lived honestly. (The Author heard it from the villager, while he was yet a child and travelling with his grandfather in one of the suburbs of Bukhárá).
f 207*b*	f 243*a*	1589	ᶜAbdu'llah aṣ-Ṣúrí relates the story of a ruined youth, and the circumstances which led to his prosperity. (*T. F. S.* as the source, and Anwarí cited at the end of the anecdote).
f 208*a*	f 243*b*	1590	Abu'l-Qásim Ṣaffár, a native of Nasíbín, goes to Díyár-i-Rabíᶜa, to present an excellent sword to the Amír ᶜAbbás b. ᶜAmr al-Ghanawí, and while returning with his reward on his way home encounters an Arab brigand and accidentally succeeds in entrapping him to death. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 50—2).
f 208*b*	"	1591	The three felons who robbed the peasant of a she-goat, his donkey, and his clothes.
f 209*a*	"	1592	Muḥammad Badíᶜ al-ᶜUqaylí relates the story of a romantic youth of his tribe, who robbed a fine horse from the Banú Bakr to win the hand of his cousin. (See *T. F. S.*, pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 55—6). The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazír.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Part III, Chapter VI = LVI: On the Interesting Anecdotes of Beggars.
f 209*b*–f 210*a*	ff 244	1593	Introduction describing the different methods of begging. Abú Zayd as-Sarújí's earnest advice to his son about the choice of a profession, beggary being the best of all. (The *Maqámát* of al-Ḥarírí as the source.)
f 210*b*	f 244*b*	1594	Narrative of the marvellous feats of the family of Shaykh ʿAbbás of Níshápúr, the prince of beggars.
f 211*b*	f 245*b*	1595	Another artful beggar plays a hoax on the people of Níshápúr, and collects money under the pretence of showing his tail which (he said) was a relic of his ancestors, who had been turned into apes.
f 212*a*	„	1596	The Qáḏhí of Úsh in Farghána plays a practical joke on the people of Sístán, makes himself dumb, adopts the profession of a water-bearer, and implores the chief Qáḏhí to pray for the recovery of the lost faculty. After a time he visits the Qáḏhí to thank him for the restoration of his speech, asks permission to show his gratitude in a public oration, collects a large amount of money, and on his way home sends a humorous piece of composition to the people of Sístán revealing his identity and their stupidity. (The *Miftáḥu'n-Najáḥ* (?) of the Qáḏhí of Úsh as the source.)
f 212*b*	„	1597	Two beggars make a mutual contract: one of them establishes his reputation as a pious preacher in Rayy, while the other comes from outside and claims damages for manslaughter from the former; the people sympathise with their preacher and subscribe a large sum for him.
f 213*a*	f 246*a*	1598	The mischievous pact of a mad person in the Bímáristán of Ghazna with a turban-mender in the town.
„	„	1599	Abú Duláma, the poet, cajoles the Caliph as-Saffáḥ, and obtains rewards from him. (The *Mulaḥu'n-Nawádir* as the source). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter VII = LVII: On the Contemptibility of Falsehood and the Advantages of Truth.
f 213*b*	f 246*b*	1600	Introduction. The Caliph Abú Bakr's exhortations against falsehood.
„	„	1601	The Caliph ʿAlí's single counsel to a newly converted Muslim prevents him from committing a multitude of sins.
f 214*a*	„	1602	Two Khárijite victims save themselves from the machinations of al-Ḥajjáj by virtue of their veracity.
„	„	1603	Aḥnaf b. Qays's deliberate refusal to speak of the Caliph ʿAlí in the presence of Muʿáwiya.
„	„	1604	al-Mustarshid the Caliph's dying words to his son, "Oh my son! if thou desirest to be feared, then do not tell lies, for verily the liar is never feared even though he may be surrounded by a thousand swords".
„	„	1605	Naṣr b. al-Ḥáriṯẖ affronts Ṯẖábit b. Sharwán in joke, in the presence of Faḏhl b. Sahl; Ṯẖábit is annoyed, and Faḏhl snubs him by saying that he lost his honour the day he told him that he went on his camel from Dámghán to Níshápúr in one night — a highly improbable thing.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 214*b*	f 246*b*	1606	Abú Muḥammad Kházin's defence of poetic fiction in a literary discussion held in the Ṣáḥib Isma'il b. ʿAbbád's salon.
"	"	1607	Manṣúr, an emissary of the Caliph Harun, pretends deafness in audience of the Byzantine King and succeeds in his misson, but incurs the grave displeasure of the Caliph for having told a lie.
f 215*a*	f 247*a*	1608	Ḥasan of Baṣra, while persecuted by al-Ḥajjaj, takes refuge in the convent of Ḥabíb-i-ʿAjamí and is miraculously hidden from the sight of his pursuers.
f 215*b*	"	1609	al-Faraj al-Rukhkhají, the governor of Ahwaz, averts the wrath of the Caliph Hárún by confessing what he did during the term of his office, and how little wealth he had amassed.
"	f 247*b*	1610	Yúsuf b. ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿUthman b. Abi'l-ʿÁṣ, a refugee of Baṣra, stands firm before al-Ḥajjáj and gains his approbation.
f 216*a*	"	1611	A trader, who was patronised at the court of the Khan of Chín, exports ten ostriches to prove the validity of his statement.
"	"	1612	Abú ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿAlá', the famous reciter of the *Qur'an*, explains to his pupils the defects which disqualify a man from leadership.
f 216*b*	"	1613	ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir rewards doubly a student of theology for his candour in confessing that his own view about the belief in God differed from that of ʿAbdu'llah and his own fellow-students.
"	f 248*a*	1614	Ṭáhir b. al-Ḥusayn liberates Zayd-i-Shujaʿ, a spy of ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá b. Máhan, on account of his veracity.
f 217*a*	"	1615	Fadhl b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, challenges the anticipation of Naṣr, the poet, about the divorce which Fadhl was planning, but afterwards admits he was right and rewards him.
"	"	1616	Khálid, the Barmecide, perjures himself in the hope of causing ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá b. Músá to withdraw his claim to the Caliphate in favour of al-Mahdí, upon which al-Múriyání, his rival, works upon al-Manṣúr and brings him to disgrace.
f 217*b*	f 248*b*	1617	Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Rabíʿa b. Aḥmad al-Jámí(?), the poet, is disgraced by Qábús b. Washmgír because he pretended to remember 5000 lines of al-Ma'mún's poetry, but when challenged could not produce more than fourteen verses.
f 218*a*	"	1618	Ḥasan b. al-Qaḥṭaba relates the story of the accusation of al-Mahdí against Isḥáq for his pretensions to the Caliphate, and how he wanted Yaʿqúb b. Dá'úd, the courtier, to corroborate his statement, which the latter denied, reminding the Caliph how the suspicion arose in his mind. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.

Part III, Chapter VIII = LVIII: On Heresiarchs and Pseudo-Prophets.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 218*b*–f 219*a*	f 249*a*	1619	Introduction dealing with the excellence of the prophets, in general, and the super-excellence of Muḥammad. An account of the life and mission of Zoroaster and of his book *Zend Avesta*, and of Gushtásp's acceptance of his faith, and in what relations the Magians stood to Islám. (As

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			regards the last point, the author quotes on the authority of his great ancestor, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. al-'Awf, from whom he draws his *nisba*, al-'Awfí, what the Prophet had said with respect to the Zoroastrians: "Consider them as the People of the Book"). (Cf. above, I, iv, 141). (A part of this anecdote is quoted in Ouseley's "The Collection of Essays etc.", vol. ii, p. 363, see above, p. 31).
f 219*b*	f 249*a*	1620	The Caliph 'Alí gives the reason for the remission of the *Jizya* in the case of the Magians, and explains how they lost their Book.
"	"	1621	Zoroaster, being a great astrologer, comes to know the time of his death, and disappears in a forest, giving out that he has ascended to Heaven; but later his corpse is discovered, which leads to his posthumous ignominy.
"	"	1622	A detailed account of Manes: his first appearance in Shápúr's court, — Manichaean doctrine — Dualism — his five books, the *Injíl, Kitáb-i-Shapúriyyan, Kanzu'l-Iḥyá', Sifru'l-Jabábira* and *Sifru'l-Asrár* are enumerated (see above, pp. 41—2). The propagation of his faith and his miserable fate in the reign of Bahrám b. Hurmuz. (See above, I, iv, 162—3).
f 220*b*	f 250*a*	1623	A very detailed account of Mazdak: his early appearance in the reign of Qubád, his contrivance to make the fire speak, — Qubád tries him and accepts his faith, Núshírwán's protests against the communistic doctrines of Mazdak; — the feast and the massacre of the Mazdakites, and restoration of peace to the country (see above, I, iv, 182, 183). (Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 166—81; the whole account agrees entirely).
f 223*a*	f 251*a*	1624	The appearance of Máh-Áfaríd or Bih-Áfarídh in the days of Abú Muslim Marghazí, the propagandist of the 'Abbásid dynasty, a sketch of his early career and voyage to Chín, his return and declaration of his doctrines, and his capture at the hands of 'Abdu'llah b. Sha'ba, and his assassination. (This account resembles minutely that in the *B. A. B.*, pp. 210—11, cf. *al-Fihrist*, p. 344).
"	f 251*b*	1625	The rising of Háshim b. Ḥakam al-Muqanna' "the Veiled Prophet of Khurásán" in the reign of al-Mahdí; the moon which he raised from the well of Nakhshab, his suicide, and his followers "called the White-clad". (See above, I, v, 292). (Again the details in this case also resemble al-Bírúní's version closely, cf. *B. A. B.*, p. 211; Ibn Khallikán (Wust.) Biogr. No. 431).
f 223*b*	"	1626	Maḥmúd, called 'Alawí Ayláqí, revives the doctrines of al-Muqanna' and Bábak al-Khurramí, and claims prophetic attributes in Marw in the reign of Malikshák Saljúqí, whereupon by the decree of the judges and the order of the king he is stoned to death.
"	"	1627	The mad son of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Anbárí pretends to be a prophet, and is put to death. The chapter ends with a glorious panegyric on the mighty efforts of the Wazír in establishing the true religion.
			Part III, Chapter IX = LIX: On the Despicability of Miserliness.
ff 224	f 252*a*	1628	Introduction. Abú Ṣábir, the miser of Baṣra, and his assistant.

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f 225*a*	f 252*b*	1629	ᶜAmr b. Layth is put to shame for having a miserly servant in his household on the occasion of a banquet.
"	"	1630	A maid-servant ruins a wealthy trader of Marw, called the son of Abu Ṣamit, in punishment for his extremely mean behaviour.
f 226*a*	f 253*a*	1631	Abú ᶜUbayda relates an instance of ᶜAbdu'llah b. Zubayr's stinginess, as a parallel to the proverbial miserliness of Máriz. (*Majmaᶜu'l-Amthal* as the source).
"	"	1632	Ḥámid, the dealer in sal ammoniac, a wealthy miser of Marw, is cheated by Ismáᶜíl, and is punished by Muḥammad-i-Sahl, the Amír of Marw, for his misbehaviour.
f 227*a*	f 253*b*	1633	The story of a wealthy miser and his clever slave.
"	"	1634	An interesting visit of a Kúfí miser to another famous miser of Baṣra and his entertainment. (The *Kitáb-i-Nathru'd-Durar* of Abu Naṣr (?) Thaᶜalibí as the source).
f 227*b*	"	1635	A guest surprised at the economy of a host who would not let his children sleep soundly, lest they might digest the food and get up hungry in the morning.
"	"	1636	A Kúfí miser reproaches his son for still being in need of scent to make his bread eatable.
"	f 254*a*	1637	Another story of a Kúfí lad who wanted to sell his wholesome bread.
f 228*a*	"	1638	A Kúfí host starves his guest the whole night with the lame excuse that late meals cause disease.
"	"	1639	A miserly Kúfí quarrels with his neighbour for having misappropriated the bones of a sheep's head, which he had deposited at his own door, to exhibit his hospitality.
"	"	1640	A miser's favourite habit of talking to a piece of coin, which unfortunately happened to fall into his hands. (The *Kitáb-i-Khalqu'l-Insán* as the source, see above p. 66). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the generosity of the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter X = LX: On the Contemptibility of Perjury and bad Faith.
f 228*b*	ff 254	1641	Introduction. The Prophet prefers to ignore the troubles of his daughter rather than break his promise of awarding a war-slave to Abu'l-Haytham.
"	f 254*b*	1642	The Prophet Ismáᶜíl waits for two days at the same place in fulfilment of his promise.
"	"	1643	Afrásiyáb's vow to succour the weak and oppressed and to subjugate the cruel and high-handed.
"	"	1644	Muᶜáwiya confers with ᶜAmr ibnu'l-ᶜÁṣ on the eve of the Battle of Ṣiffín and explains how institutions soon fall into decay if promises are not kept.
f 229*a*	"	1645	ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán breaks his promise to ᶜAmr b. Saᶜíd ibnu'l-ᶜÁṣ, and orders his assassination, which in the end leads to his own ruin.
f 229*b*	f 255*a*	1646	A court jester taunts a Wazír of the ruler of Khurásán who would promise people to do anything for them, but never kept his word.

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f 229*b*	f 255*a*	1647	The pact of Ghassán b. Jahm and his wife Umm-i-ʿUqba bint ʿAmr not to marry again after each other's death; but after the death of Ghassán Umm-i-ʿUqba marries again, and sees the apparition of her former husband, and dies afflicted. (The *Kitáb-i-Shajaratu'l-ʿAql* as the source (?)).
f 230*a*	„	1648	Báytúz attacks Ṭugháytigín (?), the ruler of Bust, who seeks protection from Náṣiru'd-Dín Sabuktigín. Sabuktigín after a hard fight restores Ṭugháytigín to the dependency of Bust, but the ungrateful chief turns traitor, breaks his promises, and conspires against Sabuktigín, who punishes the rebel and captures Bust. (Abú Naṣr al-ʿUtbí's *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* as the source, see above, pp. 62, 64—5).
f 231*a*	f 255*b*	1649	The Khán of Chín, called the son of Sáwají, violates the contract with the Ṭamgháj Khán of Káshghar and invades Turkistán; the Ṭamgháj Khán with the help of Ḥaṣr (? Khiḏḥr) Beg defeats him. The chapter ends with a short note on the faithlessness and perjury of Malik Násiru'd-Dín Qabácha, towards Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish, and the consequent overthrow of the former, which is fully dealt with in the Preface to the first part of this book.
			Part III, Chapter XI = LXI: On the Contemptibility of Ignorance.
f 232*b*	f 256*b*	1650	A short introduction which is illustrated by the two favourite couplets of Khwája ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamíd. The stupidity of Abú Sahl in calling every one who bore the name of Aḥmad a fool, while defending his son in the presence of the Wazír Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí.
„	f 257*a*	1651	Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide's remark on the difference of the expressions of the Arabs and Persians concerning a person who lacked common sense. (Saná'í cited.)
f 233*a*	„	1652	Aḥmad b. Ibráhím, an adherent of Ráfiʿ b. Harṯhama, adopts a foolish method of taking revenge upon Abú Saʿíd Durghání (? Farghání), the governor of Khwárazm, who had killed his master, by poisoning the tanks which supplied Khwárazm with water. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* as the source, see above, p. 45).
„	„	1653	The reply of a wise man about an idiot.
„	„	1654	Ráfiʿ b. Harṯhama, on account of his foolish notion of patronage, refuses to change his old barber, in spite of the wounds which the barber inflicted on his head; whence he derived the nickname of "the possessor of the scars". (See above p. 46).
f 233*b*	f 257*b*	1655	Abú Shujaʿ Aḥmad b. ʿAbdu'llah al-Khujistání befools his master Ibráhím Sarkab (?), incites Yaʿqúb b. Layṯh against him, compasses his death and elevates himself. (The *Akhbár-i-Ál-i-Layṯh*, probably as-Sallámí's *Ta'ríkh*, is meant, see above p. 46).
f 234*a*	„	1656	ʿUmar II dismisses Qutayba b. Muslim from the governorship of Khurásán on the ground of ignorance of a simple verse from the *Qur'án*, about the period of creation.
„	„	1657	The Caliph al-Ma'mún asserts that all men who grow long beards lack common sense, and proves his statement to be correct on the fortuitous

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			appearance of Abu Ḥamdawayh ʿAlawiyya. (An indefinite allusion to one of the works of al-Jaḥiẓ).
f 234*a*	f 258*a*	1658	The foolish son of a wealthy trader of Bukhara, in rivalry with the Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Samánid, lays out a polo field, and ruins himself in dissipation, and once in drunkenness goes so far as to order his slave to bring the head of the Amír to him.
f 235*a*	„	1659	How Ibnu'l-ʿAtíq, a foolish courtier of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán, used to reckon the advent of the winter season. (On the authority of ash-Shaʿbí).
„	„	1660	How Yazíd b. Marwan, the simpleton, acquired the nickname of Dhu'l-Wadaʿát. (*Majmaʿu'l-Amthal* as the source).
„	„	1661	Muʿawiya describes the six traits of a fool.
f 235*b*	f 258*b*	1662	A stupid dervish remained silent for ten years in the company of the Shaykh Muḥammad of Níshapúr, but, when he opened his mouth, revealed his folly in one impertinent question.
„	„	1663	Two stupid litigants from amongst the Hashimites before the chief judge.
„	„	1664	Shahíd al-Balkhí, the poet and philosopher, interrupted by an ignorant person while studying a book, retorts mercilessly. (See for his life, *Chahár Maqála*, Text, pp. 127—8).
„	„	1665	The Imám Abú Ḥanífa's retort to an impudent fool, who appeared naked before him in the bathroom.
„	„	1666	Aristotle's sarcastic remark in answer to the taunt of his pupils about learning to play upon a stringed musical instrument at the age of seventy.
			The chapter ends as usual with a Panegyric.
			Part III, Chapter XII = LXII: On the Contemptibility of Tyranny and on the History of unjust Rulers.
ff 236	f 258*b*–f 259*a*	1667	Introduction dealing with the evil effects of cruelty and the efficacy of the invocations of the oppressed. ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir orders his falconer to pull out the wings of a falcon that impudently attacked an eagle.
f 236*b*	f 259*a*	1668	Ziyád, the adopted brother of Muʿawiya, murders 1,500 inhabitants of Baṣra in one night-patrol, and strikes terror into the hearts of the people.
„	„	1669	In justification of his high-handed policy al-Ḥajjáj gives a genuine gold coin to a learned man, who complained against his tyranny in Baṣra, in order that be might ascertain for himself what it was worth in the market, and recognise that the people of Baṣra were being treated according to their deserts.
f 237*a*	„	1670	Socrates, when attacked by the furious mob, told his wife that it was preferable to die more sinned against than sinning.
„	„	1671	al-Ḥajjáj's taunting proclamation to the people who were rejoicing on the eve of his death.
„	„	1672	A tyrant smitten by an earthquake at the invocation of an old woman whose house he had demolished in order to bnild a palace for himself.
„	„	1673	A general who billets himself on a Shaykh dies of colitis.
f 237*b*	„	1674	al-Ḥajjáj dies of paralysis within 40 days of the assassination of one of the great *Tábiʿís*, Saʿíd b. Jubayr.
„	f 260*a*	1675	The Sultan Masʿúd punishes a chieftain of Ghúr for his atrocity towards a dervish.

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f 238*a*	f 260*a*	1676	The threat of al-Ḥajjáj to the people of 'Iraq after its conquest.
"	"	1677	A learned man in his talk with the Amír Ismá'íl the Sámánid ascribes the decay of Khurásán after the Ṭáhirids to the tyranny of the Ṣaffárids who succeeded them.
f 238*b*	f 260*b*	1678	Walíd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik puts Ḥabíb b. 'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr to death for describing him as the Pharaoh of the day, but Nemesis follows soon after.
f 239*a*	"	1679	'Umar II's opinion about the oath of a person who had made his divorce conditional on al-Ḥajjáj being in Hell.
"	"	1680	Muẓaffar the mad, a cruel governor of Maḥmúd's, punished by Abú Ḥabíb as atrociously as he had treated the poor peasants.
f 239*b*	f 261*a*	1681	A belated pilgrim admires an old woman who preferred to live on snakes and bitter water in her valley, rather than be a citizen of a town where tyranny was rampant. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XIII = LXIII: On the Contemptibility of Hard-Heartedness and bad Temper and on the Laudability of Politeness and Humaneness.
f 240*a*	ff 261	1682	Introduction, illustrated by the story of the importunate beggar, and the occasion of the revelation of the Verse "And as for him who asks, do not chide (him)." The account of the doings of the two public prosecutors Amir-i-*Jaras* or *Ḥaras*, appointed by al-Ma'mún, offers a striking contrast of their temper and reputation. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Ál-i-'Abbás* as the source, see above, p. 48).
f 241*a*	f 262*a*	1683	al-Ḥajjáj entrusts an '*Ásádmard*', a freeman, to Aḥmad b. Mubashshir al-A'raj, to whom he discharges his liabilities voluntarily, whereas Ma'bad could not extort anything from him in spite of his brutal measures.
f 241*b*	"	1684	Báwardí (?), an apparently harsh prefect of police in the days of the Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna, discloses the mystery of the successful management of the city under his régime. (The *Dastúru'l-Wuzará'* of the Sultan Raḏẖiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna as the source, see above, p. 67).
f 242*a*	"	1685	'Alqama b. Wá'il al-Anṣárí al-Ḥaḏẖramí's visit to the Prophet in Madína, and the insults which he heaped on Mu'áwiya, while he was being escorted by him as a guest of honour to a residence far off on the outskirts of the city in the scorching heat of the desert; and Mu'áwiya's courtesy to him after he succeeded to the Caliphate.
"	"	1686	Abú Shujá' Aḥmad [b. 'Abdu'llah al-Khujistání] treats brutally Muẓaffar, the son of Muḥtáj, who as usual in expectation of his reward was awaiting his return from the hunting-ground. (See above, p. 46).
f 242*b*	"	1687	'Amr b. Layṯẖ, the Ṣaffárid, tells Ja'far b. Muḥammad az-Zuburí (?), a favourite of his, the story of his penury in his early days in connection with his outrageous murder of Isḥáq, the gardener, who had once beaten him cruelly for robbing fruit, bread, and curds from the garden where he was camping; but he bitterly resents the suggestion that he should acknowledge his indebtedness to the butcher, who gave him sustenance and employed him as a shepherd. (See above, p. 46).

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f 243*a*	f 263*a*	1688	al-Ḥajjáj inhumanly orders the assassination of ʿAbdu'r-Raḥman Awzáʿí, an old boon-companion of ʿAbdu'llah b. Zubayr, for showing grief when reminded of his early friendship with him. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
			Part III, Chapter XIV = LXIV: On the Contemptibility of Meanness and Vileness and stories of Ignoble Persons.
f 243*b*–f 244*a*	f 263*b*	1689	Introduction dealing with the contrast of high and low-minded persons, illustrated with verses. Al-Ma'mún, shocked at the meanness of his eldest son, ʿAbbás, in ordering his agent to buy for him a beet for half a *dirham*, repudiates him and appoints his brother al-Muʿtaṣim as his successor in the Caliphate.
f 244*a*	"	1690	al-Ma'mún chooses Isḥáq al-Mawṣilí as tutor to ʿAlí b. Hishám b. Ṣáliḥ, but is disappointed in the end at the mean conduct of ʿAlí towards his venerable preceptor.
f 245*a*	f 264*a*	1691	At the request of a disciple, the Shaykh Báyazid of Bisṭám sends a dervish to bless a wedding-feast, but the dervish returns annoyed, because the host meanly estimated his blessing in terms of money. (The *Maqámát-i-Shaykh Báyazid Bisṭámi* as the source.)
"	"	1692	Diʿbil-i-Khuzáʿí's personal account of Sahl's (?) meanness, and Sahl's insistence on eating the cock's head, which was missing in the dish. (related by al-Jáḥiẓ).
f 245*b*	f 264*b*	1693	Bahrám Gúr disqualifies a very wise and capable man of his day from holding the office of minister, since he showed greediness at table.
"	"	1694	ʿAbdu'llah b. Muḥammad (?) of Baṣra complains of the meanness of Sahl b. Nuʿaym, the governor of the town, before Yaḥyá the Barmecide, who dismisses and disgraces him. (The *Akhbár-i-Barámika* as the source, see above, p. 39).
f 246*a*	f 264*b*	1695	Fadhl b. Muʿadh (?), the ruler of Khurasán, laughs at the misery of the famine-stricken people of Níshápúr when they ask him to supply them with corn from his granary, but expires the same night through the sticking of a morsel in his throat.
f 246*b*	f 265*a*	1696	Abú Sahl Zawzaní, the Wazír of the Sultan Masʿúd of Ghazna, enforces confiscation against the weighty opposition of Abu Naṣr Mushkání and Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí, his colleagues, and causes serious troubles in the state. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣiri* as the source, see above, pp. 62, 63—4). The chapter ends with a note concerning the mild policy adopted by the Wazír after the surrender of the fort of Bhakkar and the defeat of Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha.
			Part III, Chapter XV = LXV: On the Contemptibility of Extravagance and Prodigality.
f 247*b*–f 248*a*	f 265*b*	1697	Introduction. The via media advocated by the Prophet. A story related before the Caliph al-Ma'mún of the advice of a dying father to his prodigal son to commit suicide rather than disgrace himself after having

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			squandered all his inheritance, and how the rope which he had suspended for this purpose led him to a hidden treasure.
f 248*a*	f 266*a*	1698	ʿAbqasí, the poet, relates the story of the calamitous condition of the son of a rich merchant through vice, and of the recovery of his former prosperity through good luck. (*T. F. S.* as the source).
f 249*a*	f 266*b*	1699	Ḥujjat b. al-Ajlaḥ [1]), reduced to extreme poverty, regains his position through a rich inheritance.
f 249*b*	"	1700	The story of a prodigal prince, who wasted all his wealth on false friends; they deserted him in the hour of need, and once falsely accused him of stealing a piece of flesh, and refused to acknowledge his plea of innocence, but, when he regained prosperity, believed in him blindly about a highly improbable thing, namely, that ants bore holes in a stone.
f 250*a*	f 267*a*	1701	Awḥadu'd-Dín, the son of the ruler of Mihna or Mayhana, prosecutes his early studies in Níshápúr, but after his father's death returns to Mihna, squanders his inheritance and becomes poor.
"	"	1702	Muʿáwiya sends a purse of gold to ʿUrwa b. Udhayna, the poet, lest he might write a lampoon on him, upon which ʿUrwa reminds him of his verse about the destined daily bread. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XVI = LXVI: On the Contemptibility of Dishonesty and Misappropriation.
f 250*b*–f 251*a*	f 267*b*	1703	Introduction. The shepherd who implored his master to sell pure milk, and his witty reply when the flock was swept away by a flood.
f 251*a*	"	1704	When Rást-rawish, the Wazír, is ruining the state by his extortions, Gushtásp, warned by the example of a shepherd who hanged his treacherous dog, takes the administration into his own hands and kills the Wazír. (Cf. *N. S. N.*, pp. 19—22).
f 251*b*	"	1705	The Imám Abú Ḥanífa's clever device to recover the money of a poor pilgrim from a dishonest trustee.
f 252*a*	f 268*a*	1706	The Shaykh Abu'l-Mu'ayyad's (?) intercession on behalf of Muḥammad Múydúz, who was accused of embezzling the money of his master Sunbul, the late treasurer of the Sultan Masʿúd; and the Sultan Bahrámsháh's story of Núshírwán's visit in disguise to the garden of a person who was famed for honesty, hospitality and piety, resulting in his repentance and in the real beginning of the era of his justice. The chapter ends with a glorious panegyric on the illustrious monarch and his Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XVII = LXVII: On the Contemptibility of Licentiousness and Misconduct.
f 253*a*	f 268*b*	1707	Introduction dealing with the evils of sexual licence. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdu'llah [al-Khujistání] abducts the wife of Shírzád, one of his retinue, while ʿAyyásh [or ʿAbbás] al-Qaṭṭán plunders Níshápúr and carries off

[1]) The person meant is probably Uḥayḥa ibnu'l-Julaḥ (*Kámil*, ed. Wright, p. 466, l. 5).

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			his mother; at last his criminal career is brought to an end through the invocation of the holy Shaykh Abu ᶜUthman al-Ḥirí. The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khurásán* as the source, see above, p. 45).
f 254*a*	f 269*b*	1708	Abu'l-Fadhl, the famous secretary of Níshápúr, relates the story of the misconduct of Abu'l-Qásim Bídar aṭ-Ṭabarí with the wife of Muḥammad b. Zayd ᶜAlawí of Ṭabaristan, and of the swift retribution which fell on them.
f 254*b*	"	1709	ᶜAbdu'l-Karím Fáryábí relates the story of the misconduct of Abu'l-Bashar with the wife of an Indian fellow-traveller, called Sanku (?), and the dire fate of the wicked pair.
f 255*a*	f 270*a*	1710	The illegal connection of Salm with Rabáb, and the dreadful vengeance of Khidásh on the lewd pair. (The *Kitab-i-Majmaᶜi'l-Amthal* as the source).
f 255*b*	"	1711	The Devil's temptation of Barṣíṣa, the hermit, and his making him an infidel, is cited in connection with the explanation of the Verse (*Qur'án*, LIX, 16). (See above, p. 26, *ll.* 22—6).
			The chapter ends with a few lines on the manifestation of the glory of the Creator in making his patron the champion of the Faith.
			Part III, Chapter XVIII = LXVIII: On the Contemptibility of Ingratitude and stories of Persons who were punished for it.
f 256*b*	f 270*b*–f 271*a*	1712	Introduction on ingratitude, illustrated a quatrain from the author himself. The famous Abú Bakr [Muḥammad b. ᶜAbbas] al-Khwárazmí ungratefully leaves the court of the Ṣáḥib Ismáᶜíl b. ᶜAbbád.
f 257*a*	"	1713	How Ṭáhir-i-Dhu'l-Yamínayn contrived to get the governorship of Khurásán, and how he betrayed al-Ma'mún and died a mysterious death.
f 257*b*	f 271*b*	1714	The ungrateful ᶜ*Awán*, who enjoyed the protection of a money-broker of Kúfa in the days of the suppression of the Khárijites by Muṣᶜab b. Zubayr, brings a false charge against him in the time of al-Ḥajjáj, which leads to his own ruin.
f 258*a*	"	1715	Maslama b. ᶜAwf raises the standard of revolt against his benefactor, ᶜAmr b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik, and is killed in the encounter.
"	"	1716	ᶜAmr b. Layth is sent in a cage to Baghdád by the Sámánid ruler, Ismáᶜíl, at the order of the Caliph, al-Muᶜtadhid.
"	"	1717	Bahrám Chúbín's ingratitude, and his miserable life and the old woman's poor entertainment.
f 258*b*	f 272*a*	1718	The revolt of Afshín in the reign of the Caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim, his capture along with his Sámánid ally, Aḥmad b. Naṣr, the historic trial and his execution.
f 259*a*	f 272*b*	1719	The fate of Ṭughril, the usurper, and the coronation of Farrukhzád. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní* as the source, see above, pp. 60—2).
f 260*a*	"	1720	[Malik Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín] Dawlatsháh [Balká b. Ḥusámu'd-Dín ᶜAwadh Khalají]'s revolt against Iltutmish. (A contemporary event that happened in 628 A. H. It marks the latest limit of the compilation, see above, p. 20).
			The conclusion of this chapter is of contemporary interest, and ends with an encomium on the Wazír.

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			Part III, Chapter XIX = LXIX: On the Contemptibility of Tale-bearing and Spying.
f 261*a*	f 273*b*	1721	Introduction illustrated by verses of the *Qur'án*. A citizen invites a military chief and entertains him with a royal dish, forbidden to the public; the chief reports the matter to the Kisrá, whereupon the Persian king severely chastises him for his ingratitude and tale-bearing. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-ʿAjam* as the source, see above, pp. 55—6).
"	"	1722	A malicious slave creates a disaster by setting his master and his master's wife against each other by devilish reports.
f 261*b*	f 274*a*	1723	The Caliph al-Muʿtaḏhid warns a tale-bearer of the consequences, if his report proved to be false, and chastises him for neglecting his obligations to his neighbour.
f 262*a*	"	1724	ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán's counsel to his favourite Qabíṣa: never to tell lies, never to flatter him, and never to impeach others in his presence.
"	"	1725	al-Muʿtaṣim curses a secret reporter for bringing to his notice the legacy left by a chief of the army.
"	"	1726	A spy returns disappointed from the court of ʿAbdu'l-Malik, after hearing his warning to the tale-bearers.
f 262*b*	"	1727	al-ʿAttábí, the poet, is accused of heresy (*Iʿtizál*), and is brought before the Caliph Hárún; Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, intercedes and restores him to the favour of the Caliph, and punishes the false reporter. (See Ibn Khallikán (Wust.), Biog. No. 538, for the verses cited).
"	f 274*b*	1728	Túmán (?), the son of a slave, gets into the favour of the Amír ʿAbdu'r-Rashíd of Ghazna, and terrorises the people by espionage; Khwája Abú Ṭáhir Ḥusayn is sent to India for investigation, and on his report to the Ṣáḥib-i-Díwán Abu'l-Faḏhl Bayhaqí, Túmán is dismissed, but later on again comes into power and ruins the whole state, which ultimately leads to the murder of the Amír and rebellion in the country. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* as the source, see above, pp. 62—3).
f 263*b*	f 275*a*	1729	Jamál, the Pársá, (or pious) persuades the Qáḏhí Muḥammad Gardízí to impeach Ḥusámu'd-Dín Aghlabak for extortion, upon which Abú Saʿd al-Junaydí Niẓámu'l-Mulk, the Wazír of Iltutmish, appoints Abú Bakr ʿImádu'l-Mulk Sharafu'd-Dín, the general, to investigate the affairs of the people of Miyána, and when the charges were proved false, the mischievous Qáḏhí and the slanderous Jamál were publicly disgraced. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the illustrious Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XX = LXX: On the Contemptibility of Hastiness and the Advantages of Slowness.
f 264*a*	ff 275	1730	Introduction. The life-story of Rúzbih and Bihrúz, the sons of the hasty Jewel-merchant. (Cf. *Bakhtiyár-náma*, pp. 93—107; also above, pp. 74—6).
f 265*b*	f 276*a*	1731	The hasty prince of Aleppo, and his anxiety to marry the daughter of the king of Egypt; his precipitate action results in a calamity just before the marriage. (Cf. *Bakhtiyár-náma*, pp. 33—45; also above, pp. 74—6).

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f 266*b*	f 276*b*	1732	The tale of the Ráy of India and the four brothers that guarded the throne, one of whom was suspected of misbehaviour, while he was trying to save the sleeping queen from a snake.
f 267*a*	"	1733	The tale of another brother, in connection with the previous story, about the king who unwisely killed the hawk that prevented him from drinking a poisoned cup.
f 267*b*	f 277*a*	1734	Another tale, in the same connection, about the king who killed the weasel that saved the life of his son from the fangs of the serpent. (Tales of Indian origin).
f 268*a*	"	1735	ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán Khál from personal motives falsely accuses a sage of Herat of idolatry; the Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna warns him of the dreadful consequences, upon which the accuser confesses his guilt. (Cf. *N. S. N.*, p. 120; also above, p. 82). The chapter ends with a panegyric as usual.
			Part III, Chapter XXI = LXXI: On Irreligious and Unprincipled persons.
f 268*b*	f 277*b*	1736	Introduction. Why Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Músá (?) refused to accept invitations and refrained from attending funeral processions. The narrative of his ill-luck. (The *Kitábu'l-Faraj baᶜda 'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanúkhí as the source, see above, pp. 90—94).
f 269*b*	f 278*a*	1737	ᶜAbdu'l-Qays (?) (in *Faraj* Abú'l-Qasim ᶜAbdu'llah b. Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥusayn al-ᶜAbqasí), the poet, relates his encounter with Muqbil, his father's slave, and the gang of robbers from whose clutches he was accidentally saved through the protection of the leader of the gang. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, viii, p. 57—60).
f 270*a*	f 278*b*	1738	The advice of Nuᶜmán b. at-Turáb al-ᶜAbdí to his three sons; Saᶜíd, one of them, tests his father's experience in regard to false friends, and is convinced of its truth.
f 271*a*	f 279*a*	1739	The story of the homicide-hermit, and the lucky escape of a victim, a man of the army, from the dungeon of the wicked hermit. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, viii, pp. 56—7).
f 271*b*	"	1740	The perilous adventure of a servant of Muḥammad b. Sulayman Háshimí, who accidentally saves a woman from the dark designs of a villain. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, viii, pp. 60—1).
f 272*a*	f 279*b*	1741	A personal anecdote of the author of the *Faraj baᶜda 'sh-Shidda*, the Qáḏḥí Abú ᶜAlí Muḥassin at-Tanúkhí, about the loss which he suffered at the hands of an ungrateful wretch, named Abú ᶜAlí aṣ-Ṣúlí for a very trifling grievance. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XXII = LXXII: On Ingenious and Intelligent women.
ff 273	f 280*a*	1742	Introduction, showing the superiority of some women to men. Ásiya, the virtuous wife of Pharaoh, demands the fulfilment of the contract

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			which her proud husband after the loss of his wager desired to break wantonly; and insists on his walking round his palace naked, so that the white spot of leprosy on his back is discovered.
ff 273	f 280*b*	1743	An estimation of Dhu'n-Nún of Egypt by a Byzantine girl, and her three piquant remarks.
f 274*a*	"	1744	Ziyád b. Abíhi, while passing by the mansion of Nuʿmán b. Mundhir, the famous king of Ḥíra, visits his daughter and asks the definition of „World"; at which she wisely sums up the phenomena of the world by comparing the by-gone days of the glory of her family with their present pitiable condition.
"	"	1745	The bold answer whereby Sayyida, the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla, succeeded in preventing Sultan Maḥmúd from attacking her capital, Rayy. (Cf. *Qábús-náma*, pp. 128—9, see above, pp. 95—6).
"	"	1746	Búrán divines the secret of al-Ma'mún about the advice of the famous court-physician, Bukht-Yishúʿ, concerning abstinence from women.
f 274*b*	f 281*a*	1747	Lubába or Lubána, a favourite slave-girl of al-Amín, advises him to make a compromise with his brother al-Ma'mún.
f 275*a*	"	1748	Muhannada, a slave-girl, and her clever suggestion to the Caliph al-Manṣúr by which she seduced him.
"	"	1749	Masrúra, the slave-girl, and her seductive conversation with the Caliph Hárún.
"	"	1750	Dalla, the cunning woman, outwitted by the wife of a cloth-merchant.
f 275*b*	"	1751	The witty replies of an Abyssinian girl to the Caliph Hárún.
"	f 281*b*	1752	The jests which passed between Muhallab b. Abí Ṣufra and a singing-girl, Badáʼiʿa.
"	"	1753	al-Aṣmaʿí and a beautiful woman in a fruit shop interchange witty remarks by citing Verses from the *Qur'án*.
"	"	1754	an-Náṭifí's favourite girl recites a touching Verse (*Qur'án*, XXXVIII, 22) in her melodious voice about the brother who possessed 99 cows, and the other who had only one; upon which the Caliph Hárún is moved and restores her to her lamenting owner.
"	"	1755	The witty remark of an old woman to one of the retainers of the Caliph al-Ma'mún, when he had presented her request to the Caliph.
f 276*a*	"	1756	The tactful congratulatory address of Zubayda, the mother of al-Amín, after al-Ma'mún's succession to the Caliphate.
"	"	1757	The mystery of the casket and its precious contents, which the mother of Jaʿfar, the Barmecide, so carefully guarded.
f 276*b*	f 282*a*	1758	A pointed reply of a woman of the tribe of Ṭayy about the uniqueness of Ḥátim in her tribe, in allusion to the Caliph al-Mahdí. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XXIII = LXXIII: On Chaste and Virtuous Women.
"	"	1759	Introduction. The three kinds of women described, in reply to a man who had already consulted ninety-nine persons on the choice of a wife, by one of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa's colleagues who was feigning madness.

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f 277*a*	f 282*b*	1760	David, the prophet, explains the enigmatic advice of his young son about the choice of a wife.
"	"	1761	The story of the divorce of a virtuous wife who was very obedient to her husband, even though she did not like him at all.
f 277*b*	"	1762	The pathetic contentment of a beautiful woman, and her submissiveness towards her ugly and cruel husband.
"	"	1763	al-Aṣmaʿí's surprise at the incongruous union of a beautiful and eloquent woman with an ugly Bedouin.
f 278*a*	f 283*a*	1764	The wife of a follower of the Prophet is promised the divine reward on account of her having acquiesced in the second marriage of her husband.
"	"	1765	The saintly woman Rábiʿa warns indirectly a cruel governor, appointed by al-Ḥajjáj in Baṣra, of the inevitable retribution.
"	"	1766	The ordeals which Marḥúma, the virtuous and the fair, had to suffer on account of her fatal beauty and extreme purity.
f 279*a*	f 283*b*	1767	A noble of Baṣra cowed by the bold remark of the pious wife of his gardener.
"	"	1768	The chaste daughter of an ʿAlawí contrives her own death at the hands of Burquʿí(?), the chief of the invading band of the Zangís, rather than face ignominy.
f 279*b*	"	1769	An account of a virtuous woman in the days of the mother of Khwája ʿAbdu'l-Malik (?).
"	"	1770	A chaste woman rebukes an ʿAlawí who wanted to commit sin.
"	f 284*a*	1771	A pious woman vindicates her honour by offering her eyeballs to ʿUtba b. Ghulám, which leads to his penitence.
"	"	1772	The conviction of a tailor about the chastity of wives.
f 280*a*	"	1773	The unshaken constancy of Ná'ila to the Caliph ʿUthmán. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XXIV = LXXIV: On Unchaste and Impious Women.
f 280*b*–f 281*a*	f 284*b*	1774	Introduction, illustrated by a few couplets on the unreliability of women. Shaqíq of Balkh's bad opinion of the women of his city proves to be too true.
f 281*a*	f 285*a*	1775	The Prophet relates the story of a woman's faithlessness to her devoted husband and the miraculous intervention of Christ.
f 281*b*	"	1776	A person rashly marries the daughter of a lewd woman, but divorces her when she tells her observation on a camel's habit of closely following its dam.
f 282*a*	f 285*b*	1777	Balʿam-i-Báʿúr is persuaded by his wife to use the power of the "Great Name" against Moses, which leads to his damnation.
f 282*b*	f 286*a*	1778	The story of the enmity of the daughter of a Persian king towards the Wazír, and the conspiracy of the murderous wives against their husbands, and the wholesale extirpation of those women.
f 283*a*	"	1779	The callous woman who inhumanly suggested to her new husband to replace the stolen corpse of a thief, publicly exhibited on the gallows,

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			with the body of her dead husband; and his plea to her, on his death-bed, to spare his beard after his death.
f 283*b*	f 286*b*	1780	An Israelite sage wastes three chances of effective prayer on his faithless wife. Story related in connection with the revelation of the Verse of the *Qu'rán* (vii, 174).
"	"	1781	Isḥáq al-Mawṣilí delivers a distressed youth from the clutches of an ill-natured woman through the generosity of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide.
f 284*b*	f 287*a*	1782	The story of the criminal career of the daughter of a Judge and teacher of Isfará'in; and how she atoned for her past sins by making pilgrimages on foot.
			The chapter ends with a few words invoking the help of God.
			Part III, Chapter XXV = LXXV: On the Cunning of Women and the Stories of their Wiles.
f 285*b*–f 286*a*	f 287*b*–f 288*a*	1783	Introduction dealing with the craftiness of women; reference is made to the *Sindbád-náma*, and *Bakhtiyár-náma*. How the artful sister of Qúbád contrived the release of her brother from the prison in which he was put by the people.
f 286*a*	"	1784	The wife of a trader of Ahwaz plays a trick upon her husband, and compels him to divorce his other wife in Baṣra.
f 286*b*	"	1785	The wife of an Indian athlete, and her illicit connection with a Brahmin.
f 287*b*	f 288*b*	1786	The cunning of the wife of a goldsmith's son, and a similar story of the faithlessness of the wife of the Ráy of India, and her intercourse with the elephant-keeper.
f 288*b*	f 289*b*	1787	How a person who used to study books on the cunning of women is astounded at the mischievous activities of a woman who convinces him that there is no limit to the wiles of her sex. (The *Ḥiyalu'n-Nisá'* (?) is referred to).
f 289*a*	"	1788	A crafty woman makes a tool of her husband who jealously guarded her.
f 289*b*	f 290*a*	1789	A clever woman shows her husband the futility of keeping women in strict privacy, as the safeguarding of chastity depends on women alone.
			(Again at the end of this chapter the *Sindbád-náma* and *Kalila wa-Dimna* are mentioned as the popular books on this topic).
			The chapter ends with a short panegyric on the Wazír, and with it Part III also.

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát.

Part IV (Comprising 25 chapters, LXXVI—C):

On the Description of Strange Occurrences, the Wonders of Seas and Lands, the Temperament of Animals and the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.

Part IV, Chapter I = LXXVI: On the Advantages of the Service of Kings.

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			Introduction to the Fourth Part: doxology, a short note on his patron under whose auspices the Fourth Part is also completed, plan of the compilation and a list of the headings of the 25 chapters in the Fourth Part.
			A short introduction to the first chapter. (Missing from all the old Mss., but supplied from H. f 219*b* = G. f 325*b* = L. f 448*b*).
		1790	Núshírwán patronizes a baseborn man, and when questioned replies that culture is the excellence of man.
		1791	Two couplets in Arabic illustrating the advantages of the service of kings.
f 4*b*	f 290*b*	1792	The Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín (Sharaf b. al-Mu'ayyad) al-Baghdádí's advice to Shihábu'd-Dín (Abú Saʿd b. ʿUmar) al-Khaywaqí about the service of kings in general (but in this case it applies to the service of ʿAlá'ud-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh), with reference to the advice of Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharaqání to Abú Saʿíd b. Abi'l-Khayr on a similar occasion.
"	"	1793	The intercession of Aḥmad b. Abí Dá'úd on behalf of his friend, Abu Dulaf al-ʿIjlí, in the presence of al-Muʿtaṣim, who had handed over Abú Dulaf to Afshín, his deadly enemy. (Translated from at-Tanúkhí's *Faraj*, see pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 67—9).
f 5*b*	f 291*b*	1794	The great consideration of the Caliph Hárún for, and his patronage of, the Imám Abú Yúsuf, and the preparation of a special daily dish for him. (*Ta'ríkh-i-Bádí* or *Tási* or *Báwí* as the source (?)).
f 6*a*	"	1795	Khálid-i-Naṣr, one of the governors appointed by al-Muʿtaṣim in Egypt, is accused of peculation; Aḥmad b. Abí Dá'úd again intercedes on his behalf and releases him.
"	"	1796	Ibn Harma, the poet, relates an instance of the generosity of ʿAbdu'l-Waḥid b. Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán in justification of his ode in praise of him.
f 6*b*	f 292*a*	1797	How a capable secretary, who was out of work, sought the patronage and won the favour of ʿAḏhudu'd-Dawla.
f 7*a*	"	1798	The reflections of ʿAbbád, the secretary, after his dismissal, and his regret for the loss of patronage. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.

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			Part IV, Chapter II = LXXVII: On the Disadvantages of the Service of Kings.
f 7*a*	f 292*b*	1799	Introduction on the instability of the favour of rulers and the risks that one has to confront in their service. How the Caliph Harun ignored his pledges to the Barmecides and disgraced them publicly; and an account of one of the pledges which Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, wore on his neck as an amulet.
f 7*b*	„	1800	The Caliph al-Hádí wants to avoid the company of his old friend, 'Alí Muqátil, after he rose to the Caliphate.
„	f 293*a*	1801	Parwíz's reproach to Bahrám Chúbín for punishing a servant; and his ironical suggestion to sheathe two swords in one case. (Cf. *N. S. N.*, p. 76; see above, p. 81).
f 8*a*	„	1802	The admonishment of Sultan Maḥmúd to his brother, Amír Naṣr, on an occasion of similar disregard of the royal authority: Maḥmud orders the royal drums to be beaten at the palace of his brother. (Anec. repeated, I, ix, 494). (The *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamíní* mentioned as the source, see above, pp. 61, 63).
„	„	1803	Intrigues at the court of Walíd II against Ṭurayḥ b. Ismá'íl ath-Thaqafí, the poet-laureate of the Caliph.
„	„	1804	Núshírwán punishes his impertinent courtiers when he assumes the royal dignity. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-ᶜAjam* as the source, see above, p. 56).
f 8*b*	f 293*b*	1805	Núshírwán punishes a courtier for the crimes of his protégé, a fugitive governor. (Cf. I, ix, 503).
„	„	1806	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuzáᶜí, once suspected of treason, could hardly commend himself to the favour of the Caliph Hárún.
f 9*a*	„	1807	ar-Rabíᶜ, the Chamberlain, is reproached by the Caliph al-Manṣúr for presenting a request at an inauspicious hour.
„	f 294*a*	1808	The treachery of the Caliph al-Manṣúr towards, and his assassination of, his benefactor and the founder of the ᶜAbbásid Caliphate, Abú Muslim al-Khurásání. (Cf. I, ix, 485).
			The chapter concludes with a remark on the merits and defects of the service of kings and a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter III = LXXVIII: On Fear and Hope.
f 9*b*–f 10*a*	ff 294	1809	Introduction on Hope and Fear, and Trust in God. The merits and defects of Wealth, Wisdom and Hope are represented in an allegory of the three suitors.
f 10*a*	f 294*b*	1810	al-Amín's efforts to secure the help of ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, the Ambidexter, and his grave warning to beware of the fate of the past benefactors of the ᶜAbbásids.
„	„	1811	ابو الورل (?), the poet, writes a corrosive satire on Faḏhl b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, but confident of his forgiveness and generosity applies for his mercy and help, while in want.
f 10*b*	f 295*a*	1812	Núshírwán's person immune from attack, on account of his protection and

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			safeguarding of his people. (The *Akhbar-i-Mulúk-i-ᶜAjam* is referred to, see above, p. 60).
f 10*b*	f 295*a*	1813	Muḥammad b. Dá'úd b. al-Jarráḥ and the Qadhís Abu'l-Muthanna Aḥmad b. Yaᶜqúb, and Abú ᶜUmar Muḥammad b. Yusuf Abu Isḥaq are arrested in connection with the conspiracy of Ibnu'l-Muᶜtazz; the first two are executed for treason, while the last-named is spared through the intercession of the Wazír Ibnu'l-Furát, fined and released; and during the crisis Abú ᶜUmar's hair turns grey from fear of death. (See *T. F. S.* pt. I, ch. v, pp. 120—2, also above, p. 93, para. 2, and *n.* 5).
f 11*a*	f 295*b*	1814	A similar change in the colour of the hair of a cleaner of the palace of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, who by accident lingered in the *ḥaram* and was overtaken by the terror of death. (See *T. F. S.* pt. I, ch. v, pp. 122—4).
f 11*b*	"	1815	Abú ᶜAlí-i-Náqid, the officer in charge of the food of the prisoners in the time of al-Muqtadir, relates the story of a prisoner, who was condemned for life without having committed any crime, and was expecting deliverance from God; and how the Chief of the Baghdád Police, Názúk, was murdered, and how the mob released all the prisoners. (See *T. F. S.* pt. I, ch. v, pp. 124—5; cf. also, the *Eclipse*, vol. I, p. 192).
f 12*a*	f 296*a*	1816	al-Faraj ar-Rukhkhají, imprisoned by order of the Caliph al-Ma'mun, falls into despair; but trusts in God, dreams of release, and is restored the next day to his official position as the governor of Fárs and Ahwáz. The chapter concludes with a short note about the deliverance which is sure to follow after sufferings; and an encomium on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter IV = LXXIX: On the Efficacy of Prayer and on Persons who obtained Deliverance through the Blessings of their Devotion.
f 12*b*	f 296*b*	1817	Introduction on the efficacy of invocation. Abú Ḥimyar saves a cobra, but when the cobra turns against him invokes the protection of the Almighty and at last succeeds in killing it. (*T. F. S.* as the source).
f 13*a*	f 297*a*	1818	Yaḥyá b. Khálid-i-Azraq (?) prays for the prosperity of Murúr-i-Asálí (?), after which he is restored to happiness.
"	"	1819	The Sultan ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla Masᶜúd's supplication to the Almighty to stop the incessánt rainfall in Ghazna.
f 13*b*	"	1820	A petitioner, disappointed by Fadhl b. Rabíᶜ, appeals to God for redress, upon which the Caliph Hárún orders the Wazír to attend to the wants of the supplicant personally.
"	"	1821	Khidhr, the mysterious saint, informs al-Manṣúr of the granting of his prayer, and his accession to the Caliphate.
f 14*a*	f 297*b*	1822	A theologian's opinion about the acceptance of prayers offered under propitious circumstances and with due observance of the zodiacal constellations. (The philosopher al-Kindí's treatise on prayer is referred to).
f 14*b*	f 298*a*	1823	Ḥasan b. Zayd al-ᶜAlawí of Ṭabaristán incurs the displeasure of Heaven by praying at an inauspicious hour, and consequently is afflicted with a hurricane.
"	"	1824	An extraordinary instance of the efficacy of sincere invocation in cases

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			of utter despair. The miraculous appearance of a luminous star, witnessed by seafarers, when their boat was overtaken by a severe storm and all hopes of safety were given up. (Related by the author himself).
f 14*b*	f 298*a*	1825	The Caliph ʿUmar and ʿAbbás, the uncle of the Prophet, offer their humble prayers for rain in the year of the great drought and famine in Arabia. (The *Gharíbu'l-Ḥadíth* as the source (?)).
f 15*a*	f 298*b*	1826	Junayd, the great saint of Baghdád, prays to God for the return of the son of an old woman.
			The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter V = LXXX: On Memorable, Efficacious and Traditional Prayers.
f 15*b*	f 298*b*–f 299*a*	1827	Introduction on the real meaning of prayer. al-Ḥajjáj, being reproached by Ḥasan of Baṣra for erecting stately palaces and for tyranny, convicts him and resolves on his execution; but when Ḥasan of Baṣra utters a few words in the form of an appeal to the Almighty, al-Ḥajjáj's wrath is turned into complete submission. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 46).
f 16*a*	"	1828	Ismáʿíl b. Umayya, when arrested by order of the Caliph al-Manṣúr, repeats a formula of prayer written on a wall, and is rescued. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 46).
"	"	1829	ʿAlí b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí [b. Abí Ṭálib] advises his cousin to repeat a prayer, whilst he was going to face the governor of Madína, in consequence of a summons sent to him by Walíd b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik; he does so and is set free. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 47).
"	"	1830	ʿAbdu'llah b. Aḥmad of Baṣra cured of a chronic disease through the formula of prayer adopted by Abú Muḥammad Tustarí.
"	f 299*b*	1831	Músá b. Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣádiq's claims to the Caliphate as the nearest descendant of the Prophet against those of Hárún, and his curse which ended in the death of al-Hádí, who had repudiated him for the sake of Hárún.
f 16*b*	"	1832	The Caliph ʿAlí teaches a Bedouin the correct method of commemorating God.
f 17*a*	f 300*a*	1833	The Angel of Death teaches the Prophet Yaʿqúb a formula of prayer.
"	"	1834	The ordeals and trials of the Prophet Yaʿqúb, and his patience and submission to the will of God.
f 17*b*	"	1835	Yúsuf the Prophet's prayer in the Well in Kanʿán. (The *Jámiʿu'l-Kabír fi't-Tafsír* of the Imám Náṣir Ghazálí (?) and The *Taysír fi't-Tafsír* of Najmud-Dín ʿUmar an-Nasafí as the source), see above, p. 65.
"	"	1836	Jibrá'íl, the Messenger of God, teaches Yúsuf the Prophet the method of self-composure and self-consolation.
"	f 300*b*	1837	The pious supplications of Abú Saʿíd Baqqál and Ibráhím (?) during their imprisonment by al-Ḥajjáj, and their deliverance.
f 18*a*	"	1838	Abu's-Saráyá's (?) mysterious encounter with his enemy, and how the latter was found dead after the utterance of a homily.
			The chapter concludes with a reference to the Ṣúfí saint Báyazíd of Bisṭám and with the usual panegyric.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Part IV, Chapter VI = LXXXI: On propitious Omens and strange Occurences.
f 18*b*	f 301*a*	1839	A prelude to the chapter, discussing the validity of omens, and their interpretation according to Islám. al-Muʿtaḏhid finds solace in the recitation of the *Qur'án*, while imprisoned by his father.
f 19*a*	f 301*b*	1840	Abú ʿAlí b. Muqla takes a good omen from a few verses during his imprisonment in Fárs by order of al-Qáhir, and is rewarded soon after by the Caliph with the governorship of Fárs. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 55).
f 19*b*	f 302*a*	1841	Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid takes an omen from the *Qur'an* about the punishment of a slave-girl accused by his trusted servants of misconduct, and makes inquiries until he is convinced of her innocence and the wickedness of his servants. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 57). (Ibrahím [b.] ʿAbbás Ṣulí relates this anecdote).
f 20*a*	f 302*b*	1842	How Aḥmad-i-Muríd (?) was appointed to the governorship of Syria by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil.
f 20*b*	"	1843	The fruitless attempts of al-Hádí to deprive Hárún of his right to the succession, and his threats to Yaḥyá b. Khálid, the Barmecide, on which occasion the poet Bashshár consoles him, and puts a happy interpretation on the breaking of a ring. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 61).
f 21*a*	f 303*a*	1844	The fate of al-Mutawakkil's murderers; and the ominous portent of the horoscopic globe, which indicated the very sign that led to the nemesis that overtook the parricide Shírúya.
"	"	1845	Ṭáhir-i-Dhu'l-Yamínayn takes a good omen from his torn sleeve, and defeats his foe ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá b. Máhán. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 60).
"	"	1846	A Wazír takes an augury from a couplet.
f 21*b*	"	1847	ʿAbdu'llah b. Muʿtazz recites a few lines in prison and takes an augury, and is released by al-Muktafí. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, v, p. 89). The chapter ends with the praise of the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter VII = LXXXII: On the Stories of Persons who fell into the Whirlpool of Persecution and escaped through good Luck.
"	f 303*b*–f 304*a*		Introduction discussing the subject of deliverance after trials, and the fruits of patience, with an important note on the interesting work of the Qáḏhí Abú ʿAlí al-Muḥassin at-Tanúkhí, mentioning the Persian Translation of the above work by the author Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí himself, and also an account of the incorporation of the anecdotes from that translation into the present collection. (See above, pp. 14—18, 90—4).
f 22*a*	"	1848	A short account of the ordeals and sufferings of the ancient prophets, their admirable behaviour and the Divine rewards. (This is chiefly based on the first two chapters of *T. F. S.*).
"	"	1849	Armiyá (Jeremiah), the Prophet, is directed by God to relieve Dániyál from the horrible dungeon of Nebuchadnezzar. (Cf. *T. F. S.*, I, i, pp. 17—18).
"	"	1850	The story of the hundred belts of Ibnu'l-Jaṣṣáṣ, the jeweller, as related to the Caliph al-Muqtadir. (Cf. Index to the *Eclipse*, p. 69, also *T. F. S.*, I, vi, pp. 113—4).

D.	G.	Serial,	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 22*b*	f 304*a*	1851	Qays b. Qaysabat (Qaysaba) b. Kulthúm as-Sakúní, a chieftain of Yaman, is captured by the tribe of Banú-ᶜUqayl. Abú Ṭamaḥán, the poet, carries the news to the Sakún; Qays b. Maᶜdíkarib of Kinda and Jawn b. Málik of Sakun make common cause and attack the Banú-ᶜUqayl, wreak vengeance and release their chief. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, v, p. 130) [1].
f 23*a*	f 305*a*	1852	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir arrests Muḥammad b. Qásim b. ᶜUmar b. ᶜAli b. al-Ḥusayn, the ᶜAlawí pretender and sends him to the Caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim, who confines him in a torture-cell, but the ᶜAlawí contrives to escape. (Cf. *T. F. S.* I, v, pp. 132—5).
f 23*b*	f 305*b*	1853	Returning from Pilgrimage in 233 A. H., Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd al-سرى (?) meets a very eloquent and beautiful girl called Muhannáh (?), the daughter (?) of Haytham ash-Shaybání, a contemporary of the Prophet, who was reduced to poverty; and commends her virtues to Málik b. Ṭawq, who marries her and rewards him amply for the information about her. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, vii, pp. 8—9).
f 24*b*	f 306*a*	1854	How Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik az-Zayyát, the Wazír of al-Muᶜtaṣim, rewards Muᶜammar-i-Baghdádí. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, vii, p. 26—7).
f 25*a*	"	1855	The story of Abú Jaᶜfar Hamadhání and the pearl necklace.
	f 306*b*	1856	How Abú Ghálib, a secretary of Isḥáq b. Ibráhím b. (Muṣᶜab) at-Ṭáhirí, goes into hiding and luckily finds a hidden treasure. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, xii, pp. 147—8).
	"	1857	Aḥmad b. Masrúq, the governor of Ahwáz, relates a personal anecdote, as to how he obtained a ruby from an old woman, repaired his condition, and appeared before Fatḥ b. Kháqán.
	f 307*a*	1858	ᶜAbdu'llah of Tustar, the Amír of Baṣra, relates the story of his early misfortunes. (Told on the authority of Abú ᶜAlí Muḥassin at-Tanúkhi, the author of the *Faraj*).
f 25*a*	"	1859	Quṭrabbulí's prodigal neighbour relieved of distress through an unexpected inheritance. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, vii, pp. 29—31). The chapter concludes with a note on the *Faraj*, and as usual ends with a eulogy.
			Part IV, Chapter VIII = LXXXIII: On Persons who escaped from the clutches of Brigands.
f 25*b*	f 307*b*	1860	Introduction. Diᶜbil of Khuzáᶜa, the poet, is rewarded by al-Ma'mún on reciting the famous ode which he had composed in honour of ᶜAlí b. Músá ar-Ridhá, and is released by the robbers who had waylaid him on the same ground. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, xi, pp. 104—6).
f 26*a*	f 308*a*	1861	The story of a veteran traveller who had a very narrow escape from the clutches of the murderous owner of an inn in the forest of Kaᶜb.
f 26*b*	"	1862	How Ṣáfí or Darí, the servant of Abu'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlí b. Muḥammad b. Muqla, the Wazír of the Caliph al-Muttaqí, cheated the leader of the bandits, by foisting on him a ring with a false gem as the signet of the Caliphs. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, xi, pp. 109—110).
f 27*a*	f 308*b*	1863	Ṣárikh's encounter with a murderous villain. (Cf. *T. F. S.*, II, xi, pp. 111—2).

[1] In *Aghání*, XI, 130—1, the name of the prisoner is Qaysaba b. Kulthúm.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 27*a*	f 308*b*	1864	The servant of Ibnu'd-Danánírí at-Tammár al-Wásiṭí relates the story of the theft of his purse while he was crossing the Tigris for Ubulla, and the strange experience of Abú Bakr al-Bughásh, the organiser of the secret band of thieves, through whose favour he recovered his lost purse. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, xi, pp. 112—3).
f 28*a*	f 309*a*	1865	How Abú ʿAlí Zaydí or Kurdí used to plunder the pilgrims, and his encounter with a bold youth from Shásh, who routed his gang single-handed. After witnessing this feat Abú ʿAlí deserted his band and renounced his calling. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, xi, pp. 117—8). The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter IX = LXXXIV: On Persons who escaped from the clutches of Wild Beasts.
f 28*b*	f 309*b*—f 310*a*	1866	Introduction. The Ṣúfí saint Ibráhím al-Khawwáṣ thrown on a desolate shore takes a solemn oath not to eat the flesh of elephants in any case; consequently he is spared by the elephant that killed all his companions who had eaten its young. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, ix, p. 73; also *D. H. H.* II, p. 269, where a similar story is ascribed to Abú Abdu'llah al-Qalánisí).
f 29*a*	"	1867	A morsel, doled out daily by an old woman, protects her son from harm and saves his life from a tiger. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 74).
f 29*b*	"	1868	Presage of being killed by a wild beast, and the wonderful rescue of a person from a tiger. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 75).
"	f 310*b*	1869	The account of the adventure of a revenue inspector of Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlí b. Khalaf, the governor of Shíráz appointed by the Wazír Abú Muḥammad al-Muhallabí, and the story of his mutilated hand, and the thrilling tiger-ride. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 75).
f 30*b*	f 311*a*	1870	The strange story of a monkey that was committing an unnatural act with a woman, and wanted to bribe a person who had detected the outrage. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 78—9).
"	"	1871	Another miraculous rescue of a fugitive slave called Ayyúb from the clutches of a tiger. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 79).
"	"	1872	Another clever rescue from a boar and a tiger.
f 31*a*	f 311*b*	1873	A champion "strong man" strangles an elephant by seizing upon the trunk of the animal. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 79—80).
"	"	1874	Another thrilling encounter with tigers. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 80).
f 31*b*	"	1875	A tiger rescues a debtor, who was kind to her cubs, from the cruel exaction of his creditor. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 81).
"	"	1876	The story of a dangerous snake in a garden in Dayr, and the family of wonderful snake-charmers. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 81—2).
f 32*a*	f 312*a*	1877	A paralysed person cured naturally by the stings of a scorpion. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 83).
"	"	1878	ʿUbaydu'llah b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣúrí's escape from a cave near Sinjár. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 83—5).
f 32*b*	f 312*b*	1879	Daysam b. Ibráhím, an ally of Sayfu'd-Dawla, relates an account of a wonderful rescue of a child that was accidentally thrown into water and picked up by an eagle. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 85).

D.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 32*b*	f 312*b*	1880	The life-story of an Egyptian who was called Ibnu't-Timsáḥ or the son of the crocodile. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 86).
f 33*a*	„	1881	The miraculous rescue of Abu'l Qásim b. Aᶜlam al-ᶜAlawí al-Faylasúf from a tiger. The truth of the saying of the Prophet, "the flesh of the children of Fáṭima (may God be pleased with her) is immune from the devouring of beasts, and the one who is devoured by a beast is an impostor (not of the line of Fáṭima)" is also illustrated from the ordeal of the Imám ᶜAlí b. Músá ar-Ridhá and the false Zaynab. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 86).
„	f 313*a*	1882	How ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdí, a merchant of Baṣra, was wondrously saved by weasels from a serpent. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 89).
„	„	1883	Another thrilling rescue of a person, who was surrounded by a tiger and a snake on either side. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 91).
„	„	1884	Another mysterious rescue of the Qadhí Abú Sá'ib from a wild beast while returning from a visit to the tomb of the Imám Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 92). The chapter ends as usual with a eulogy on the Wazír. N.B. This chapter is entirely translated from at-Tanúkhí's *al-Faraj baᶜda'sh-Shidda.*
			Part IV, Chapter X = LXXXV: On Persons who fell into the Whirlpool of love and succumbed to it.
f 34*a*	f 313*b*–f 314*a*	1885	Introduction dealing with the various kinds of emotion, illustrated by the verses of Arabian poets. Explanation given by a philosopher about the fits of the love-stricken Wazír, and the differentiation of the spiritual from the sensual affections.
f 34*b*	f 314*a*	1886	The ecstasy of ᶜAlí, the uncle of Aḥmad b. Sulaymán b. Wahb, in his love for a girl, and the attempt of Sulaymán b. Wahb to cure him of his infatuation.
f 35*a*	f 314*b*	1887	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, the ruler of Khurásán, releases a prisoner, who begged for mercy and reminded him of the romance of his youth and of his beloved, in whose neighbourhood he lived.
„	„	1888	How Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Thábit, the Ṣúfí saint of Baghdád, fell in love with a beautiful girl and, failing to get her, devoted himself to the love of God and became a famous saint. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Baghdád* (?) as the source, see above, pp. 42—3).
f 35*b*	„	1889	al-Aṣmaᶜí pays a visit to the tribe of Banú ᶜUdhra and sees the pathetic longing of a youth for a girl of the family of his hosts and tries to bring about a happy union of the lovers, which results in the death of the youth. (The *Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya* as the source, see above, p. 70).
„	f 319*a*	1890	Mortality among the youth of the tribe of Banú ᶜUdhra owing to their amorous tendencies and the chastity of their girls.
f 36*a*	„	1891	The romantic union of Laylá and Majnún.
„	f 319*b*	1892	Why Uways-i-Qaraní pulled out his teeth; the lesson of real hero-worship impressed on the minds of the Caliphs ᶜUmar and ᶜAlí when they met him.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 36*a*	f 319*b*	1893	The ecstatic condition of a youth who burnt himself while addressing his beloved and was unconscious of the fact.
"	"	1894	A shoe-maker's son plucks out his heart and sends it to the son of the prince whom he loved, in proof of his sincerity.
f 36*b*	f 315*b*	1895	Masrúr-i-Kabír relates the story of a slave-girl who expired at the shocking news of the death of the Caliph al-Ma'mún. (The *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafá-i-Baní'l-ᶜAbbás* as the source, see above, p. 48).
"	f 316*a*	1896	A captive of the Muslims in the early wars of the Prophet breathes his last, after remembering his beloved, who had also been made a captive along with the rest of the women of that tribe. (The *Kitábu'l-Maghází* of Muḥammad b. Isḥáq as the source, see above, pp. 100—101).
"	"	1897	The story of the pathetic end of the extreme love of a young student in Balkh.
f 37*a*	f 316*b*	1898	A discourse on the exposition of the word "ᶜ*Ishq*". The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter XI = LXXXVI: On Persons who fell in the Whirlpool of Love and succeeded in it.
f 37*b*	"	1899	A short introduction. The infatuation of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Maymún b. al-Afṭas, the Wazír of the Caliph al-Muttaqí, for a girl-musician, and how the Caliph rewarded him with the offer of the girl and pacified him to his heart's content. (Cf. *T. F. S.* II, xiii, pp. 149—151).
f 39*a*	f 317*b*	1900	The anguish of a youth of Baghdád at the loss of his favourite girl-musician, and the generosity of the Háshimí who restored her to him. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 151—6).
f 41*b*	f 319*b*	1901	A notable of Baṣra, when reduced to poverty, sells his favourite slave-girl to the Amír ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbaydu'llah b. Muᶜammar at-Tamímí; but the Amír, seeing their lamentable condition and their deep affection for each other, reunites the lovers. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 156—7).
"	"	1902	Jaᶜfar b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, goes in disguise to hear the music of a slave-girl who was being offered for sale, and witnessing the passionate attachment of the youth who owned her, at the recommendation of Isḥáq-i-Mawṣilí restores him to prosperity and bestows his favour on him. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 157—160).
f 43*a*	f 320*b*	1903	ᶜAbdu'llah b. Jaᶜfar b. Abí Ṭálib magnanimously offers the slave-girl whom he had bought from a youth of Mecca to her former owner, after hearing of their mutual love. Similarly ᶜAbdu's-Salám b. Abí Sulaymán, the client of Aslam, in the hope of a similar reward from the Ál-i-Ṭalḥa, asks for a girl whose sale was completed; but is disappointed. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 161—2).
"	f 321*a*	1904	Abú Isḥáq al-Marwazí, the Sháfiᶜí doctor and teacher's request to Abú Bakr b. Abí Ḥámid, the chief officer of the *Baytu'l-Mál*, on behalf of a student from Khurásán, for the return of the slave-girl who had been purchased for him by one of his servants, and Abú Bakr's readiness in granting the petition. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 162—3).
f 44*a*		1905	Another version of the same story. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 163—4).

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 44*b*	f 321*a*	1906	Ḥasan b. Sahl Qusṭás takes pity on a merchant who sold his slave-girl, and returns her to him. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 164—5).
f 45*a*	f 321*b*	1907	How Isḥáq al-Mawṣilí won a beautiful musician-girl. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 165—7).
f 46*a*	f 322*a*	1908	Numayr b. Khalaf or عقل(?) al-Hilálí relates the story of the romantic adventure of Bishr or Sírín b. ʿAbdu'llah called al-Ashtar, and the part of confidant which he played in helping him to enjoy the society of his beloved Jaydá. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 167—8).
f 46*b*	f 322*b*	1909	ʿÍsá b. Músá al-Háshimí unconsciously pronounces a conditional divorce, and in distress asks the help of the Caliph al-Manṣúr, who consults a disciple of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa, who releases him from the vow. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, p. 172).
f 47*a*		1910	The vow of the poet 'Imra'u'l-Qays before his marriage, and the girl who outwitted him and whom he married at last. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 176—7).
f 48*a*	f 323*a*	1911	The life-story of the famous lovers, Qays and Lubná, and the kindness of the Imám Ḥusayn towards them. (Cf. *T. F. S. ibid.*, pp. 177—181). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír. N.B. This chapter is entirely taken from at-Tanúkhí's *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* II, xiii, pp. 151—181; consequently most of the proper names have been corrected, while others are supplied from it.
			Part IV, Chapter XII = LXXXVII: On Persons who fell into the Abyss of Perdition and escaped in the end.
f 49*b*–f 50*a*	ff 324*a*	1912	Introduction. The famous story of Nuʿmán b. Mundhir, the king of Ḥíra, and Ḥanẓala of Ṭayy, Mundhir's "Evil Day", and how Ḥanẓala, falling a victim, fulfilled his promise; hence the abolition of that evil institution. (Cf. *Aghání*, xix, 87, 88).
f 51*a*	f 325*a*	1913	Ibráhím b. Dhakwán al-Ḥarrání is arrested by the Caliph al-Mahdí in connection with the intrigue of al-Hádí, his son, and condemned to death; but just before his execution hears the news of the death of al-Mahdí, and is released and rewarded by al-Hádí. (*T. F. S.* mentioned as the source, but this anecdote is not traceable in the Cairo edition. Cf. also *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 263).
"	f 325*b*	1914	The Caliph Hárún arrests Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir in connection with the secret letters of al-Amín while he was attempling to overthrow the succession of al-Ma'mún, and convicts him of treason; but suddenly the Caliph dies, and Bakr is released by the Wazír Faḏhl b. Rabíʿ. The (*Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá-i-Baní'l-ʿAbbás*, mentioned as the source, but the anecdote is also found in *T. F. S.* II, viii, pp. 48—9, since at-Tanúkhi himself has borrowed from the book of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdús, probably *Kitábu'l-Wusará*, see above, p. 92).
f 52*a*	f 326*a*	1915	The story of a traveller who witnessed a strange spectacle in a graveyard, and the wretched Qáḏhí of the town who employed a beautiful girl for coffin-stealing whose hand he had cut off and whom he was obliged to marry. (Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, viii, pp. 52—5).

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 53*a*	f 326*b*	1916	How Ghassán-i-ʿAyyár protects ʿAlí b. ʿÍsa, his rival, a governor of the Caliph al-Mutawwakil, on his appeal. (Khaqaní cited).
f 53*b*	f 327*a*	1917	The threats of the Caliph al-Hádí to Yaḥya b. Khálid, the Barmecide, for the purpose of inducing him to reject the claims of Hárún to the succession; the arrest of Yaḥyá, who is saved by the death of al-Hádí, the succession of Hárún and the birth of al-Ma'mún.
"	"	1918	Muʿizzu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid attacks Mawṣil and defeats Náṣiru'd-Dawla, the Ḥamdánid; during the campaign an attempt is made to assassinate Náṣiru'd-Dawla. (Cf. The *Eclipse,* vol. II, pp. 94—5, where the same events are related under the year 335 A. H., while Ibnu'l-Athír mentions the capture of Mawṣil under the year 337 A. H.).
f 54*a*	f 327*b*	1919	By order of the Caliph Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik, Muḥammad b. Yazíd, the governor of ʿIráq, liberates the victims of al-Ḥajjáj and imprisons his secretary, Yazíd-i-Abú Muslim, who later on gets into power and wants to assassinate Muḥammad, but is killed before he can exact vengeance. (The author says that at-Tanúkhi in the *Faraj* has adopted a different version of the same anecdote, cf. *T. F. S.* I, iii, p. 62).
f 54*b*	"	1920	ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán orders the amputation of the hand of a thief, whereupon the old mother of the thief pleads for mercy and obtains his release from the Caliph by a piquant remark. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
			Part IV, Chapter XIII = LXXXVIII: On the Wonders of Destiny: Luck and Reverses.
f 55*b*–f 55*a*	f 328*a*	1921	A short introduction on the inevitability of Destiny. The predictions of a mysterious person about the wicked course of life and the inevitable doom of a new-born female child. (Story related in connection with the Verse: "Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you" (*Qur'an,* IV, 80).
f 55*a*	"	1922	The doomed hoopoe, that falls a victim in spite of having noticed the net. (Cf. *Sindbád-náma* [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 129*a*—f 130*a*).
f 55*b*	f 328*b*	1923	A sparrow, that taught three lessons and pointed out a hidden treasure to its owner, but could not avoid a net.
"	"	1924	The convictions of the four companions in travel about the workings of the universe and the sources of happiness: one of them, the son of a goldsmith, believes in manual labour, and provides rest for one day with his humble earnings; another, the son of a trader, believes in commerce, and entertains his friends the next day with the proceeds of his business; the third, the son of a Wazír, believes in birth, meets an old family acquaintance, and through his bounty entertains his friends in his turn; while the fourth, the son of a king, believes in Fate, and without any effort of his own is made the crown-prince of that country, and rewards his three companious.
f 56*a*	f 329*a*	1925	The curious pleasure which Ibnu'l-Jaṣṣáṣ al-Jawharí, the Jeweller of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, obtained from laying out his jewels; and the sudden raid on his house, in consequence of which he conceals them in a

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			garden until he recovers and repairs his fortune. (Cf. above, IV, vii, 1850; also, *Eclipse*, vol. I, p. 35, footnotes).
f 56*b*	f 329*a*	1926	A person, afraid of ʿAzrá'íl (the angel of death), requests the Prophet Sulaymán to transport him by air to India, a very distant land; but the pre-ordained doom falls on him there only.
"	"	1927	The Prophet asks ʿAzrá'íl whether he pitied the lot of any of his victims. ʿAzra'íl mentions two occasions, which happened to be the birth and the death of Shaddád.
f 57*a*	f 329*b*	1928	A pious man of an Arab tribe, when asked about the wholesale death of the dogs and cocks of the tribe, attributes it to the wisdom of Providence, which ultimately proves to be a blessing in disguise, since his tribe remained unmolested and unnoticed, though a strong foe had raided the surrounding district (The *Kitáb-i-Samaru'l-A*ʿ*rab* (?) as the source).
"	"	1929	Luqmán, the philosopher, and his son, detained by accident while travelling, are informed of the calamity which had fallen upon the place previous to their arrival.
f 57*b*	"	1930	The mystery of the missing head, and how al-Masrúr, the agent of the Caliph Hárún, supplied it to make up the number of forty heads which he was carrying to Baghdád, after killing the band of robbers in Ahwáz; the supplied head also proved to be that of a disguised villain.
"	f 330*a*	1931	Núshírwán highly surprised at the striking contrasts in the life of an old man; whilst in poverty, the man did not grieve at a severe wound on the sole of his foot, but in prosperity felt indisposed when flowers were showered on his head.
f 58*a*	"	1932	Moses shown the mysterious working of Providence: The equitable treatment of the horseman, the lad, and the blind man. (The *Laṭá'if-i-Qiṣaṣ-i-Anbiyá* (?) as the source).
"	f 330*b*	1933	Núshírwán's earnest desire to know the wonderful workings of Destiny, and Buzurjmihr's practical demonstration in the court by making Núshírwán overthrow the Múbad and instal him in the latter's place.
f 59*a*	f 331*a*	1934	Abú Muḥammad al-Muhallabí, the Wazír, relates the curious incident of a person on whom a party of sailors put fetters in joke, which proved to be a portent of his just doom. (The *Kitáb-i-Khalqu'l-Insán* as the source). The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
			Part IV, Chapter XIV = LXXXIX: On Human Monstrosities and strange Births.
ff 59	ff 331	1935	Introduction discussing the theories of the formation of the human body, and the opinion of the philosophers about the influence of Nature on Matter and vice versa. The Amír of Yaman presents to the Caliph [al-Ma'mún] a creature of curious formation, which was seen at the house of the Qáḍhí Yaḥyá b. Akṯham. Its upper body was that of a man, having two teats like the dugs of an animal, and the rest of the body was like a bird without any limbs, and it recited eloquent verses. (Abu'l-ʿAbbás [Aḥmad

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			b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlawiyya, nicknamed] Jirabu'd-Dawla and also Riḥ's work *Béy-bas* or *Béy-bar* (?) are mentioned as the source. Yaqút in *Irshad* II, p. 63 mentions a work of the latter on amusement named *Tarwiḥu 'l-Arwaḥ wa-Miftáḥu's-Surúr wa 'l-Afraḥ*; probably that work is meant here. Cf. also *Q. A. M.* p. 451, where this anecdote is given in extenso).
f 59*b*	f 331*b*	1936	An instance of duality of the sexual organ in a girl. (The *Ṭabayiʿu'l-Ḥayawan* of Sharafu'z-Zaman Táhir al-Marwazí, the court-physician of Malikshah, as the source, see above, p. 88—9). Another contemporary instance of the same nature cited by the Author. (The first instance is quoted in *H. N. Q.*, see above, p. 27).
f 60*a*	f 332*a*	1937	A monk relates the story of the birth of an extremely ugly and deformed child in the Holy Land. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	1938	Another observation of the famous Physician, Sinan b. T̲habit al-Ḥarrani, on a deformed woman. (See above, p. 97).
"	"	1939	Sharafu'z-Zaman Ṭahir relates the story of a deformed woman in Marw, who used to work with her legs. (See above, p. 88).
f 60*b*	"	1940	Náṣiru'd-Dawla, the Daylamite ruler, is presented by an Armenian with a pair of twins joined together at birth. (The *Ta'rikh-i-Dayalima* as the source (?)). The Author in support of such prodigies cites the birth of the twins, the sons of ʿAbd Manáf. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	1941	Another instance of malformation, related by Ubaydu'llah b. Bukht-Yishuʿ b. Jibrá'íl in one of his works, of a man whose leg was turned from behind upwards and reached his head after passing between his shoulders. (See above, p. 98).
"	"	1942	Another contemporary instance of monstrosity. A creature is brought before the Sultan Iltutmish having the face of a monkey, the mouth of a bear without the lower set of teeth, and the rest of the body like that of a human being. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	1943	Hippocrates's observation on the cause of the generation of monstrosities. (See above, p. 98).
f 61*a*	f 332*b*	1944	Sharafu'z-Zamán, the court-physician to Malikshah, explains the cause of sexlessness in either sex, and describes three kinds of such people. (See above, p. 88).
			A note on the contemporary circle of the Wazír, who cultivated literary and administrative talents. The Author concludes the chapter with a splendid panegyric on the Wazír, his illustrious patron.
			Part IV, Chapter XV = XC: On Longevity in Animals, and an account of the Long-lived.
f 61*b*–f 62*a*	ff 333	1945	Introductory discourse on the duration of life among animals. Man is supposed to have lived the longest, eg. Noah, reported to have lived 1450 years. The astronomical, or rather astrological, calculation of the normal period of a man's life. The influence of heavenly bodies and climate on the existence of man.
			Abu Maʿshar [Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Balkhí], the famous astrologer,

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			examines the horoscope of the new-born son of the King of Sarandíb, and predicts his age according to his environments.
f 62a	f 333b	1946	The exceptionally long life of the King of Jálandhan (250 years), and the belief that prevailed in ancient India that life can be prolonged by medicine.
„	„	1947	The client of the Caliph ᶜAlí, called Abu'd-Dunyá al-Muᶜammar, who is said to have lived about 300 years.
„	„	1948	A short account of Akthám b. Ṣayfí, who lived 190 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XI, pp. 9—18). In connection with the lives of the long-lived the Author mentions as his source the work of Abú ᶜAbdu'llah Muḥammad b. ᶜImrán al-Marzubání called the *Kitábu'sh-Shabáb wa'sh-Shayb* or the Book of Youth and Age. (See above, pp. 84—6).
f 62b	„	1949	A short notice of the life of Zuhayr b. Jannáb b. Hubal al-Kalbí, with his lines on his age. 220 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XX, pp. 24—7).
„	„	1950	Naṣr b. Duhmán's dotage and rejuvenation. Verses of an ancient Arabian poet are cited. Age 190 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. LXIII, pp. 70—71).
„	„	1951	Juᶜshum b. ᶜAwf's longing for death. His verses cited. Age 250 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XXV, p. 33).
„	„	1952	ᶜAbbád b. Saᶜíd [or Saᶜíd b. Aḥmar] b. Thawr b. Khidásh b. Saksak b. Kinda's lamentation on his age. Verses cited. Age 300 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XC, p. 87).
„	f 334a	1953	Sharya b. Abdu'l-Juᶜfí's strong constitution at a very ripe old age; he was much healthier than his sons owing to a suitable wife. Age 300 years. (Story corresponds, no verses cited; cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XXXVIII, p. 40).
„	„	1954	al-Mustawghir b. Rabíᶜa's weariness of life. His verses cited. Age 330 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. X, pp, 7—8).
„	„	1955	The lamentation of [Kaᶜb b.] Radát b. Dhuhl an-Nakhaᶜí at his miserable existence. Age 400 and 170 years. (Verses do not agree and even the age differs, cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. LXXIX, p. 82).
„	„	1956	ᶜAmr [or Kaᶜb] b. Ḥumama ad-Dawsí's joy in old age, expressed in his verses. Age 390 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XVI, pp. 21—2).
f 63a	„	1957	Duwayd b. Zayd b. Nahd (al-Ḥimyarí)'s longing for existence, and his verses before death. Age 400—460 years. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XIII, pp. 19—20).
„	„	1958	Enumeration of the ages of Ṭayyi' b. Udad, Quss b. Sáᶜida al-Iyádí and Saṭíḥ, 500, 380, 500 years, respectively. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. LXXV, p. 80).
„	f 334b	1959	Account of ᶜAwj b. ᶜAnaq from Commentaries.
„	„	1960	Account of Luqmán b. ᶜÁd and his seven vultures. (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. III, p. 2).
f 63b	f 335a	1961	Account of Luqmán the Philosopher and his ten thousand wise maxims.
f 64a	„	1962	The Arab sage and arbiter, ᶜÁmir b. aẓ-Ẓarib al-ᶜAdwání's instructions to his slave-girl, and his decrees. (The *Majmaᶜu'l-Amthál* as the source). (Cf. *S. K. M.* Biog. No. XLV).
			The chapter ends with a panegyric, and a prayer for the long life of his patron.

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			Part IV, Chapter XVI = XCI: (On Cosmography): On "Climes" and Routes, and cold and hot Regions.
f 64*b*	f 335*b*	1963	The inhabited parts of the world. Equatorial regions and frigid zones. The majority of the peoples that inhabit the world: The Chinese, the Turkish tribes inhabiting Central Asia, the Byzantines, the Persians, the Indians and the Abyssinians. The temperate regions, which correspond with the fourth "Clime", best suited for habitation. The Author himself, being an inhabitant of the same, gives a detailed account of them based on astronomical observations.
f 65*a*	f 336*a*	1964	The division of the world into "Seven Climes", according to the belts of latitude, as conceived by the old Arab Geographers. (In general, the classification of the "Climes" or *Iqlíms* corresponds with the one adopted by Qazwíní and Dimashqí. (See above, p. 102, para. 1).
f 66*a*	f 336*b*	1965	An account of old Chín: its art, civilization, etc.: a description of the capital of Chín, its inhabitants and its rulers; some of its peculiar customs, *eg.* the annual open-court, and the ceremony of pricking arrows in a log of wood out of which a beautiful figure was to be carved, and the sagacity of the people who perceived by the mark of the arrow of the predecessor, what particular figure he had in his mind; the fame of the people for fine arts and painting, which formed a part of their religion as instituted by Manes; and the practice of magic among the petty vendors. The experience of a Muslim ambassador at the Chinese court, where the interpreters of various languages were employed, and how he was struck by the fine texture of the cloth manufactured in that country. The chief assets of the country. An account of a valley adjacent to an isle which was inhabited by descendants of the Caliph 'Alí, who had fled to Khurásán and taken refuge in the Far East from fear of the Umayyads, and settled there, and acted as intermediaries between the Chinese and Islamic countries.
f 66*b*	f 337*a*	1966	Concerning Turkistán: The Mongol and Tartar tribes; their conversion to Islam; their advance on Muslim lands and their diffusion over other countries, commencing from the time of Chagrí — the Saljúqs — the Khwárazmsháhs — the Qáys — the Ghuzz Turks — the Kharkhíz tribes and their custom of seeking information of coming events from the favourite of the public, a person chosen for this special purpose.
f 67*a*	"	1967	The region of Kharkhíz, [or the country of Gharjistán] containing four valleys, the fountain-head of many great rivers. The great water [probably the Marw river or Murgháb is meant] that loses itself in the sands. The experiences of an adventurer in this water, and a description of the strong and tall inhabitants of that desert. The Kharluj tribe inhabiting the Kúh (?) containing gold mines. The Tughuzghuz Turks and their nine branches. The Kimák tribe, their nomadic life and customs. The Ṣaqáliba — the Rús: — their waters, their curious law of inheritance, their conversion to Christianity, then to Islam, their relations with the Khwárazmsháhs. (Cf. *Y. M. B.* II, 834). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.

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			Part IV, Chapter XVII = XCII: On the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Indians, the Abyssinians and the inhabitants of the Jazá'ír.
f 68*a*	f 338*a*	1968	An account of the old Byzantines, generally called the people of Rum: — its division into four provinces, each under a chief who owed allegiance to the Qayṣar, the ruler of the whole empire. Their military organisation and civil administration — the various Orders of the old Greek Church — followers of other religions as the tax-paying citizens in the State — the revival of learning after the immigration of the Greeks into Asia Minor — Macedonia, the home of philosophers, deserted and Constantinople revived — the building of the great Cathedral.
f 68*b*	f 338*b*	1969	On the Arabs: The Peninsula of Arabia — its extent and boundaries — the Arabs the chosen people, as the Prophet Muḥammad rose amongst them. The ancient civilizations of the Ḥimyarites and the Ghassánids, the latter being the pioneers in Islam of the sciences of religion, genealogy and philology. The peculiarities of the Bedouin tribes, famous for their poetry, eloquence, and swift-footedness — a few of the famous Ṣaᶜálíku'l-ᶜArab. The account of a Bedouin, related on the authority of an eye-witness, Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir al-Marwazí, in the year 448 A. H.
f 69*a*	f 339*a*	1970	An anecdote of the agility and wit of a Bedouin.
f 69*b*	"	1971	A short account of India: — its agreeable climate — its unique products — snake-charming, magic and sorcery as special types of the secret arts practised by them — the 99 races and 48 religions of India.
"	"	1972	On the Abyssinians, called Ḥabasha. The various black races – their marked features — extreme heat that affects their features and temperament.
"	"	1973	A king of Khurásán employs Negroes in his army to frighten the Turks beyond the Oxus, who took them for giants and dared not fight with them. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Máwará'u'n-Nahr* as the source; probably the work of Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. ᶜAdnán as-Surkhakatí, the maternal uncle of the Author, also called the *Ta'ríkh-i-Turkistán*, is meant. See above, p. 44).
f 70*a*	f 339*b*	1974	An account of the earliest alliance by marriage between Írán and Turkistán: Balaj or Balḥ (?), the king of Turkistán, gives his daughter to the King of Írán called Ḥasanawayh or Ḥastawayh (?); the King of Írán sends among other presents a Zangí, a curiosity which the people of Turkistán had never seen before; the Zangí becomes a favourite of the King, and seizing his opportunity kills the King, makes himself the ruler, and becomes famous in Turkistán as Qará Khán. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Mulúk-i-Turkistán* mentioned above, as the source. See also *Chahár Maqála*, Text, pp. 184—9).
"	"	1975	An account of a few peculiarities of the Zangís, *eg.* fencing with poisoned spears — eating snakes — making special flexible bows and superfine shields from the hide of an animal called Malṭ (or Lamṭ). (The

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			Kitáb-i-ʿAjáʾibu'l-Baḥr (?) as the source). (Cf. *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale par el-Bekri*, De Slane, Alger 1857, p. 171).
f 70*a*	f 339*b*	1976	On the inhabitants of the Jaza'ir or the Islands on the Caspian Shores:— the extremes of climate, the adjoining country of Bulghar and other neighbouring tribes. The Moving Sands and the Land of Women. (Cf. *Q. A. B.* I, p. 722; II, pp. 431—40). (The account of the Land of Women in the West is taken from a *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*, and at the end the works on *Masálik wa-Mamálik* and on *Tabáyiʿ* are indefinitely referred to. See above, pp. 101—3). The chapter ends with a eulogy.
			Part IV, Chapter XVIII = XCIII: On Monuments and remarkable Buildings.
			Introduction dealing with antiquities and monuments as the best proof of the civilization of the times. The well-known couplet is cited in the original Arabic: "These are our works which prove what we have done; Look, therefore, at our works when we are gone". The author's visit to Samarqand and the inscription written on the edifice erected by the Ṣadr-i-Jahan ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz [Burhanu'd-Din], the head of the Ál-i-Burhan, and one of the notables of Bukhará who lived about 574 A. H., in the caligraphy of the learned Kargas.
f 71*a*– f 71*b*	ff 340	1977	An account of "The Iram of the Columns", historically the old Damascus (see Le Strange's *Palestine under the Moslems* p. 232), and traditionally the Paradise of Shaddád and the *Iramu Dhátu'l-ʿImád* mentioned in the *Qur'án*. (This and the next account agree with Qazwíní's *Áthár*, pp. 9—11).
f 72*a*	f 341*a*	1978	A glimpse of the site and interior of the Paradise of Shaddád, as related by ʿAbdu'llah b. Qilába al-Anṣárí, the efforts of the Caliph Muʿáwiya to trace it, and the advice of Kaʿbu'l-Aḥbár in the matter. (Cf. *Y. M. B.* I, pp. 213—5).
f 72*b*	"	1979	The wondrous tower built by Dhu'l-Qarnayn (see, for the identity of Dhu'l-Qarnayn, the opinion of al-Bírúní, *B. A. B.* pp. 36—42) at the port of Alexandria, for watching the movements of ships: 300 knots or rope-lengths in height, one solid block of stone, square at the bottom and octagonal in shape, surmounted by a refractive mirror, which is said to have permitted the observation of ships at sea at a distance of one month's voyage, and which was also used as an effective means of destroying hostile ships by burning them through radiation. Later, the tower having fallen into the hands of ʿAmr b. al-ʿÁṣ during the Muslim conquest of Egypt, the monks maliciously advised him to search for the hidden treasures of Dhu'l-Qarnayn which lay beneath the glass dome; when it was opened for this purpose, it could not be restored properly, and since then it lost its magical powers. Our author says that it existed and attracted visitors in his time. (But Yáqút, a

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			contemporary, in his *Muʿjamu'l-Buldán*, Vol. I, pp. 261—2, has given a very interesting criticism on this tower, and has proved by personal observation that the exaggerated accounts of it incorporated in most works of geography are false. al-Qazwíní is content to describe it, and says nothing by way of criticism. See *Q. A. B.* pp. 97—8).
f 73*a*		1980	A relic of the marble-columned court erected by the Dívs for the prophet Solomon at Alexandria. (Cf. *Q. A. B.* p. 98).
"		1981	The wonderful column and statue at ʿAynu'sh-Shams in Egypt. (Cf. *Y. M. B.* III, p. 762—3).
"	f 341*b*	1982	The Pyramids of Egypt, and the Caliph al-Ma'mún's visit, (Cf. *Q. A. B.* pp. 178—9).
f 73*b*	"	1983	The Castle of Baʿlabakk (Heliopolis), and its stones, the wonders of Syria: (Cf. *D. N. D.* p. 199, also Le Strange's *Palestine*, pp. 295—8).
"	f 342*a*	1984	A stone-built fortress city called Naját.
"	"	1985	The Aywán-i-Kisrá, the famous palace of the Persian Kings which received a shock at the birth of the Prophet and which al-Manṣúr wanted to demolish.
"	"	1986	The foundation of the city of Baghdád by the Caliph al-Manṣúr. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Khulafá-i-Baní'l-ʿAbbás* as the source. See above, p. 47). The chapter ends with an account of the Masjid-i-Alfí or Mosque of 1000 Arches erected by Iltutmish in the old capital of Dihlí, and with a panegyric.
			Part IV, Chapter XIX = XCIV: On strange Talismans.
f 74*b*–f 75*a*	f 342*b*–f 343*a*	1987	Introduction dealing with the genius of man in contriving wonderful talismans to perpetuate his memory. Abú Muṭíʿ [or Saṭíḥ or Muṭíḥ] of Balkh, a famous travelling philosopher's three wonderful presents to the Amír Abu'l-ʿAbbás (?) of Balkh which he refused: (1) The wonderful hen made of wood that laid an egg at the time of prayers. (2) The wonderful figure of a man with a drum hung round its neck, that used to strike it at regular intervals so as to indicate the time of day. (3) The wonderful drum that cured persons of colic. The first two were destoyed by the artist in anger, and the third one, the drum, was presented to the Amír Tásh, who was cured of colic, and rewarded the maker with 5,000 *Dínárs*. This drum was later on presented to Abú ʿAlí Ilyás (?) who foolishly destroyed it, but repented when he came to know its mysterious effects.
		1988	The story of the jealousy of the Byzantine philosophers against Abú ʿAlí Ibn Síná: the invitation of the Byzantines to cure a favourite slave-girl of the king of her eye-disease without touching her, and the counterfeit slave that Abú ʿAlí made to cure her, in order to deceive the Byzantines and bring them to their knees. (Story not traceable in Qifṭí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Ḥukamá*).
f 75*a*	f 343*a*	1989	The four wonders enumerated by ʿAbdu'llah b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿÁs: (1) The magical mirror at the top of the Tower of Alexandria. (Cf. above,

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			IV. xviii. 1979, perhaps alluding to the same). (2) The Bronze Statue of a horseman in Andalus. (3) The Water-sprinkling Minaret in the land of the ʿÁd. (4) The Olive-Turret in Byzantium.
f 75*b*	f 343*a*	1990	The enchanted walls of the city of Naṣíbín, and the discovery of its mystery by Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín (Saladin).
"	"	1991	The wonderful Water-Mill in the city of the prophet Yunus, called Nineveh. (See above, p. 27).
"	f 343*b*	1992	Bilinás's clever contrivance to get rid of the mice that pestered the inhabitants of one of the Chinese towns. (The *Kitab-i-Ṭilasmat* as the source). (Cf. *Q. T. H.* p. 65, where Alyanús ar-Rúmani's account is given in connection with a plague that had spread in Antioch).
"	"	1993	The Sultán Bahá'u'd-Dín Bámiyán and the Imam Fakhru'd-Dín ar-Razí pay a visit to the abode of an ascetic who had tamed beasts, and claimed to possess the power of subduing wild animals. (Fakhru'd-Dín ar-Rází mentions a book on the subject of Talismans, composed by a certain great Greek philosopher, called Aludaṭis or Abudaṭis (?)).
f 76*a*	"	1994	The legendary account of the enchanted city of Babylon, and the seven wondrous and magical villas in it. (*at-Taysir fi't-Tafsir* of Najmu'd-Dín Abú Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad an-Nasafí as the source.) (See above, p. 65 and p. 27).
f 76*b*	f 344*a*	1995	The enchanted city made by the Dívs for Solomon in Andalus, and the vain attempts of Músá b. Nuṣayr to discover its mystery. (The *Ta'rikh-i-Bani Marwán* (?) is referred to). The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter XX = XCV: On the Curious Properties of Natural Objects.
f 77*b*	f 344*b*–f 345*a*	1996	Introduction dealing with the properties of the magnetic stone, the fire-eating animal, and other curious phenomena. Description of the Idol at Somnát, Maḥmúd of Ghazna's curiosity to know how it was suspended in air without any support, and the discovery of the magnetic equilibrium which was acting upon it. (Cf. *Q. A. B.* pp. 63—4, s. v., Somnát).
f 78*a*	f 345*a*	1997	The author Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí's first experience at sea of the polarisation of the magnet. (Perhaps this is the earliest account of a compass in Persian literature).
"	"	1998	An account of the demonstration of the natural affinity of gold and mercury.
"	"	1999	An instance of curing a Persian prince of jaundice by the stone called *Ḥajaru'l-Yaraqán*, and how it can be obtained through swallows. (al-Qazwíní in *Q. A. M.* p. 220 mentions on the authority of Aristotle the similar property of the stone "*Ḥajaru's-Ṣanawbar*", which can be obtained by similar methods).
f 78*b*	f 345*b*	2000	Another instance of the cure of the disease of stone in the bladder by a stone found in Egypt. (Again al-Qazwíní in *Q. A. M.* p. 221 quotes from the Shaykhu'r-Ra'ís *i. e.*, Avicenna, a passage about the *Ḥajaru'l-Yahúdí* which is said to possess the same property of curing kidney stone).

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f 78*b*	f 345*b*	2001	The wonderful cloud-gathering and rain-producing fire-temple in Armenia. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	2002	An account of one of the early wars between the infidel King of Kábul and Náṣiru'd-Dín Sabuktigín, and the advice of an old woman to Maḥmúd of Ghazna to pollute the wondrous spring in the neighbourhood of Nagharu in order to freeze the atmosphere, and thereby render the enemy motionless. (The *Ta'ríkh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamíní* of Abú Naṣr [ᶜUtbí] as the source. See above, p. 63). Cf. also Muqaddasí *Aḥsanu't-Taqásim* p. 303, who mentions a town Shiyán in the district of Askimasht, where there was a wondrous spring. (Shiyán is situated near Farwán, in Kabul).
f 79*a*	"	2003	The story of the first appearance of Barmak of Balkh at the court of ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán, and how he was disgraced for carrying on him poison which affected the poison-detecting armlet of the Caliph; and a similar story related by Barmak about the wondrous silver fish of the ruler of Gurgán which possessed the curious property of attracting rubies from the depths of the sea. (Qazwíní *Q. A. M.* pp. 218—9 under "*Ḥajaru's-Samm*" relates the same story ascribing it to Jaᶜfar b. Barmak and the Caliph Sulaymán b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik. See above, p. 83, *ll.* 25—43).
f 79*b*	f 346*a*	2004	The mysterious disappearance of al-Muqannaᶜ, the veiled Prophet of Khurásán in the mercury cauldron which was discovered afterwards by the victorious Muᶜadh b. Muslim. A note by the Author about the legend of the triple spiritual conspiracy of Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr al-Ḥalláj (executed in 922 A. D.) who claimed to be God-incarnate; and Náṣir-i-Khusraw (alive until 1064 A. D.) who claimed to be the accredited successor of the Prophet; and al-Muqannaᶜ (according to al-Bírúní d. 785 A. D.) who claimed to be the prophet of God. These three are said to have lived at one time. (The approximate interval between Muqannaᶜ, the pseudo-prophet and al-Ḥalláj, the antinomian pantheist, is 137 years; and between the latter and Náṣir-i-Khusraw, the poet-philosopher and Ismáᶜílí propagandist, 142 years. See above I, v, 292. Cf. also, *Lit, Hist. Pers.* Vol. I, pp. 318—323).
"	"	2005	The curious stone presented to a traveller by the King of Sarandíb, which, when boiled in melted butter, produced an ointment that was proof against the cuts of steel. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 237: "Manṭús: Aristotle says 'this is an Indian stone, which resists steel, when struck with it'").
f 80*a*	f 346*b*	2006	The wearing of the shoe made of the scales of a fish called "*Samaku'l-Yahúd*", as a sure remedy for gout.
"	"	2007	An account of the confiscation of the property of BukhtYishúᶜ, and his execution. He possessed a stone which he kept in a casket. His slave points out to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil its curious property of removing the hair, and also maliciously advises him to renew its chemical properties, yearly, by putting it in blood, upon which the stone became useless· (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 235, who mentions a stone called "*Láqiṭu'sh-Shaᶜr*", and quotes Aristotle).
"	"	2008	An autobiographical account of the stay of the Author at the court of the Sultan Nuṣratu'd-Dín ᶜUthmán b. Ibráhím b. Ḥusayn, the Ílak Khán of Turkistán who ruled in Samarqand between 600 and 609 A. H. An

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			explanation of the verse of the poet Manṣúr-i-Manṭiqí, concerning the allusion of the poet to the special effect of joy and exhilaration produced on a Persian in the land of Tibet. When the prince asked what the allusion meant, the Author, having studied a work on the chemical properties of natural objects composed by his maternal uncle, Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ziyá'u'd-Dín ʿAdnán as-Surkhakatí, the court-physician of the prince's father, explained it, by describing the effect of a species of magnetic stone, called the "*Ḥajaru'l-Báhit*" (*Q. A. M.* pp. 211–2), found in Tibet, which excites laughter in foreigners. After this the Author was much favoured by the prince and patronised at the court. (The *Khawáṣṣ-i-Ashyá* is mentioned in this connection; see above, p. 67). A similar instance of an explanation of a verse (of the *Qur'án*) in a literary talk at the court of the same prince is mentioned by the Author in the *Lubáb*, Part I, pp. 44—5. The author closes this chapter after enumerating certain properties of the magnetic stone, probably from personal experience. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter XXI = XCVI. On the pecularities of animals and their curious effects.
f 80b	f 347a	2009	In the introduction the author states that, since he has dealt fully with the nature and temperament of mankind throughout the collection, and in order to make this book more comprehensive and valuable, he thinks proper to devote a few chapters to the animal kingdom also.
			On the elephant: its domestic nature, its constitution, and longevity. A quotation from the book called *Ṭabá'iʿ-i-Ḥayawanat*, about the inverted tip of the tongue of the animal; according to some Indian Philosophers, the animal could have spoken if only its tongue were located in the right direction (*i.e.* tip forwards like man). Further, they have found support for this conjecture in the keen sense and discipline in the nature of the animal. (Cf. *D. H. H.* II, p. 269; *Q. A. M.* p. 400.) Certain methods of hunting the elephant. (The anecdote concludes with a couplet of Táju'd-Dín Sarakhsí).
f 81b	f 347b	2010	A story of rhe spiteful nature of the animal: The elephant that killed the son of a certain Muḥammad Fílawí in Marw, in the reign of Maliksh// (The *Kitáb-i-Ṭabá'iʿ-i-Ḥayawánát* of Marwazí as the source, see above, p. 89).
"	"	2011	A story told by the Author on the authority of a friend (Shamsu'd-Dín Qayṣar (?), probably a physician in Nahrwála) about the elephant that took vengeance upon a tailor. Certain further peculiarities of the animal.
"	"	2012	How Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir Marwazí (the court-physician of Maliksháh, whose work is often cited in matters connected with medicine and natural history) treated the wound of a royal elephant in Marw in 478 A.H. = 1085—6 A.D. (See above, pp. 88—9).
"	f 348a	2013	The camel: its peculiar constitution and various breeds.

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f 82*a*	f 348*a*	2014	The grudge of the camel, and the story of an Arab.
"	"	2015	Some medicinal properties of the parts of a camel.
"	"	2016	The buffalo: its habit of sinking in water and killing fleas. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 383, *D. H. H.* p. 229).
"	"	2017	A person coaxes his sunken buffalos by music.
f 82*b*	"	2018	The ox: various kinds, Byzantine cows with 4 horns; a peculiar method of breeding bees from the corpse of a calf, and some aspects of bee-hiving.
"	f 348*b*	2019	Sheep: their usefulness, wool, difference in colour arising from the different waters they drink, with illustrative examples, and their special breeds.
f 83*a*	"	2020	The goat of a butcher fed on flesh and its delicious meat.
"	f 349*a*	2021	The deer: its kinds, common and musk-deer; the theory of the congestion of blood in the gland of the animal, and how the Tibetans and other Central Asian tribes hunt after these musk-bladders. The association of a partridge with a deer.
f 83*b*	"	2022	A fowler entices partridges by wearing the skin of a deer.
"	"	2023	The antelope: its horns, its fondness for music, the account by Dioscorides of the medicinal properties of its horn. (Probably taken from an Arabic version of his work on zoology mentioned by *H. Kh.* vol. III, p. 121, No. 4662; see above, p. 98, *n.* 3 and cf. *Q. T. H.* p. 183).
f 84*a*	f 349*b*	2024	The horse: a noble-natured animal, illustrations from the *Qur'án.*
"	"	2025	Ptolemy's account of the famous breed of war-horses, of which one was owned by Alexander the Great.
"	"	2026	The myth of the progenitor of the famous breed of horses in Arabia, which is supposed to be one of Solomon's steeds.
f 84*b*	"	2027	A horse found among the Kurds with small horns in the forehead, and [al-Bírúní's] account of such an animal being presented to the Sámánids in Bukhárá in 339 A. H. (See above, p. 98).
"	f 350*a*	2028	How Muḥammad b. Maslama defeated the Byzantines by threatening their horses with the stuffed skins of camels.
f 85*a*	"	2029	The famous steed of Saʿd b. Abí Waqqáṣ, called Balqá, and the exploit of Abú Miḥjan ath-Thaqafí the poet on the eve of the Battle of Qádisiyya, and his release and penitence, (The [*Kitábu'l-*]*Magházi* as the source.) (Cf. Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu 'sh-Shuʿará'*, ed. De Goeje, pp. 251—2).
"	f 350*b*	2030	The marvellous feat of Bukayr b. ʿAbdu'llah al-Laythí on his horse, by jumping it over a stream at Qádisiyya.
f 85*b*	"	2031	The theory of the Greek philosophers about the influence of shape and colour at the time of conception, either on animals or men. Experiments tried at the time of the coupling of mares and also on human intercourse.
"	"	2032	The mule: the famous breeds of Armenia, Sharwán and Tiflís, and the special breed of the West in Andalus.
"	"	2033	Account given by Dioscorides, the Greek philosopher, of the medicinal properties of the various parts of an ass. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 376—7). The chapter contains no eulogy but ends with a reference to the coming chapter.

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			Part IV, Chapter XXII = XCVII: On wild and ferocious animals.
f 85*b*	f 350*b*	2034	The tiger: the king of the wild animals, and most awe-inspiring; hence kings are likened to it. ʿAlí, called "the Tiger of God". Description of the structure of the body of the animal. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 389—90).
f 86*a*	"	2035	The mishap of a theologian, and how he escaped from the clutches of a tiger by burning a fire and keeping the tiger away from him throughout the night in a mosque. (Qadhí at-Tanúkhí's *al-Faraj baʿda'sh-Shidda* as the source).
"	f 351*a*	2036	A Greek domesticated a tiger-cub, but repented of his rashness when the animal reverted to its natural instincts and tore his wife.
f 86*b*	"	2037	Aswad b. ʿIyádh al-Jabalí (?) is reported to have tamed a tiger for hunting zebras, a bear for hunting deers, and a wasp for catching flies. (*J. K. H.* mentioned as the source, see above, p. 97).
"	"	2038	Other medicinal properties of the skin and fat of a tiger. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 390).
"	"	2039	The leopard: its habit of attacking men while they are situated above it, and not otherwise; the enmity between a tiger and a leopard. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 404—5).
"	"	2040	The medicinal properties of its fat, and its methods of hunting and of breeding its young ones. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 405). (The *Kitáb-i-Sumúm* (?) referred to. See above p. 98).
"	f 351*b*	2041	The lion: a fierce animal, a native of India and Africa. The notion of a she-lion being impregnated with air. A curious method of hunting the cubs by incarcerating one of them in a large glass case and decoying the others. Another method of capturing old ones by puzzling them with voices of hidden men around them. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 391, where a short but different account is given).
f 87*a*	"	2042	The panther: its two kinds, both capable of being trained for hunting. Some peculiarities of the animal. Methods adopted for its hunting, enchanting by sweet sounds, intoxicating, or fatiguing. Some medicinal uses. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 399—400).
"	"	2043	The wolf: a wild, swift-footed, deceitful and gregarious animal, a deadly enemy of the sheep, combining in packs of twelve; hence the Byzantines call their year after it. Their terrible grip at the time of coupling. Intimidation a peculiarity of the animal; their other methods of preying. Some medicinal uses. Untameable by nature: the sad experience of an Arab. (Cf. *J. K. H.* pt. IV, p. 16, for the lines on a wolf). (Also cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 395—6, for other descriptions of the animal).
f 88*a*	f 352*a*	2044	The hyena: a fierce and loathsome animal, a digger of graves and eater of corpses; some Greeks say that it changes its sex yearly; it associates with the wolf; its cross-breeds and medicinal uses. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 398).
"	f 352*b*	2045	The bear: a herbivorous and carnivorous animal. The she-bear brings forth cubs like raw pieces of flesh without any shape; how she licks them and protects them from ants. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 393—4).

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f 88*a*	f 352*b*	2046	The monkey: its various species; some are wild and some domestic and very serviceable. In Yaman they protect the people of a mountainous place from tigers. Owing to their arrogant nature it is believed that they have got a country of their own.
f 88*b*	"	2047	The pig: a dirty animal; its lust, and perverted habits. The account of a traveller who saw a male surrounded by a number of other males, and another story about the animal. (Both these accounts are taken from al-Jáḥiẓ; the former is found in *J. K. H.* pt. IV, p. 17, see above, p. 97).
"	"	2048	The dog: its faithfulness and usefulness to man. Description of the finest breeds of hunting-dogs. (The *Tafḍílu'l-Kalbi 'ala's-Siflati mina'n-Nas,* a treatise of al-Jáḥiẓ, is mentioned as the source, but the whole anecdote is traceable to *J. K. H.* pt. II, pp. 15, 16, see above, p. 97).
f 89*a*	f 353*a*	2049	The fox: its cunning and various methods of preying. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 391—2).
"	"	2050	The account of the lair of a fox, its seven entrances. Its method of hunting hedgehogs and cranes. Aristotle's observation on the clever way in which the fox avoids the wolf. Its varieties according to various climates. Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírúní] narrates from a reliable source that among the presents sent to the Sámánids at Bukhárá in 337 A. H. was seen a fox without any skin on the under-part of its body. (Cf. Anec. 2027, and see above, p. 98). (Aristotle's work is mentioned as the source of the earlier part of the anecdote, see above, p. 98, *n.* 6).
"	f 353*b*	2051	The cat: some medicinal properties of a cat, especially the recipe for the delivery of a still-born child.
"	"	2052	The hare: a rodent quadruped of tender constitution. Superstition concerning its ankle, medicinal uses of its rennet, antidotal, anaesthetic, and sterilizing properties.
f 90*a*	"	2053	The porcupine: natural hostility between a snake and a porcupine. Sijistán a country full of snakes; hence Nature provides destroyers also. The instinctive foresight of a porcupine in gauging the direction of the wind, and the story of a hermit who cheated the people with the help of this animal, by telling the direction of the wind. Other medicinal properties and recipes. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* p. 444). The chapter ends with a short panegyric.
			Part IV, Chapter XXIII = XCVIII: On Strange Animals.
f 90*b*	f 354*a*	2054	In the introduction the author states that in this chapter only those animals are mentioned of which accounts are found in the books of the old Greek philosophers and physicians, but which are rarely to be seen; while there is another class of animals like وشق ، قاقم ، سنجاب ، دله ، فنك ، سمور, whose skins and furs are used by people, and which are only known through their produce.
			How Galen witnessed a fight between two natural enemies, a serpent

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			and a weasel, and cured the weasel with an antidote prepared by him. (See above, p. 98).
f 91*a*	f 354*a*	2055	A similar fight witnessed by Rufus of Ephesus, called the Great, and the earliest discovery of *Ḥabbu'l-Far* as an antidote for snake-poison. The Author's versified recipe for preparing the antidote. (See above, p. 98). Then the Author proceeds to mention the various species of furs and the fur-producing countries, which are little inhabited. (Cf. al-Khwárazmí, *Mafátíḥu'l-ʿUlúm* ed. van Vloten, p. 176, for the *Tiryáqu'l-Arbaʿ* and *Ḥabbu'l-Far*).
"	f 354*b*	2056	The various opinions about the rhinoceros; according to al-Jáḥiẓ, a very rare animal, but it is to be found in numbers in India, where the Author had seen it; and he gives a description of the animal in verse. (Cf. *D. H. H.* pt. II, p. 321: *s. v.* Karkand *i. e.* Karkadan).
f 91*b*	"	2057	The description of the animal Shérú or Sharw of the rhinoceros type; taken from Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírúní's *Kitábu'l-Hind*]. (See above, p. 37).
"	f 355*a*	2058	The Rukh: camel-like and poisonous animal. (Cf. *D. H. H.* pt. I, pp. 456—7, where an account of the fabulous Rukh is given, but in ʿAwfí it is mentioned as a real animal).
"	"	2059	The Giraffe: structure of the body, various theories about its origin and birth, supposed to be an animal of mixed breeds, hence the Persians call it camel-ox-leopard. Refutation of this theory by the great naturalist, al-Jáḥiẓ. (Cf. *J. K. H.* pt. I, p. 65, pt. VII, p. 76; *Q. A. M.* pp. 449—50; see above, p. 97).
f 92*a*	"	2060	مارطوعودون or مارقنطوعون: a very curious animal mentioned by Aristotle, having a double row of teeth; and another of the same species found in India described by the Greek philosophers as having three rows of teeth, resembling a tiger, having a curved tail with a sting at the end, emitting a sound like that of a reed, and of carnivorous habits. (See above, p. 98, *n.* 9).
"	"	2061	عرنطه or غرفطه: an animal resembling a bear in features and producing a sound like the voice of a man; its peculiar habit of decoying school-children and carrying them away.
f 92*b*	"	2062	A goat-like animal having a long pointed and erect horn at the top of its head, and very fierce; but it can be hunted by coaxing it with the breast of a girl, which it sucks and becomes senseless.
"	"	2063	عربه: an animal resembling a man in colour, and having legs projecting from its shoulders, with a long tail, and fond of men's company and of dancing. The Greeks call it by this name because some people have sexual intercourse with the female of the animal.
"	"	2064	اطيبنوس's description of a curious animal having a broad tail, like a peacock, which it uses as a shade and fan. (See above, p. 98, *n.* 10).
"	"	2065	ورطليس: *i. e.* "Looking towards the ground", an animal emitting fire from its eyes and nostrils.
"	"	2066	An animal of weasel type, a destroyer of bee-hives and eater of young owls.
			The chapter ends with a short note directing the attention of his patron to the diversity and comprehensive naturo of the work.

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			Part IV, Chapter XXIV = XCIX: On Strange Birds and their Peculiarities.
f 93*a*	f 355*b*–f 356*a*	2067	Introduction illustrated by Verses from the *Qur'án*. The fabulous 'Anqá, and the myth connected with its origin. [Hishám b. Muḥammad] al-Kalbí's account of the extinction of the species of this animal at the curse of Handhala b. Ṣafwán, the prophet of the people of Rass. (*Q. A. M.* pp. 419—20). az-Zamakhsharí accounts for the extinction of the huge bird in his *Rabíʿu'l-Abrár* in the following manner: God revealed to Moses the creation of this bird; but after Moses the bird migrated to Najd and the Ḥijáz, and its tyranny raged upon the people, therefore the prophet Khálid b. Sinán al-ʿAbsí, prayed to God for its extinction. (Cf. *Rawdhu'l-Akhyár*, the abridged version of *Rabíʿu'l-Abrár*, ed. Buláq, 1280 A. H., p. 99. This is related on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbás, the famous commentator. Also, *D. H. H*, pp. 192—5; particularly p. 194, in part II. See above, p. 69, Notice 23).
f 93*b*	f 356*a*	2068	The ostrich: resembling a camel in the structure of the body and having large wings, its eggs a delicacy, its method of laying and brooding, its characteristic forgetfulness and proverbial foolishness, swallowing of pieces of stone and hot iron. (*Q. A. M.* p. 425; *D. H. H.* pt. II, pp. 412, 420). The author recounts his experience, in Khúján a district of Níshápúr, at the school of Dhiyá'u'd-Dín Ṣáʿid, of an ostrich that was with the Wakíl of [ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad] Khwárazmsháh [who ruled 1199—1220 A. D.] in the year 603 A. H. = 1206/7.
"	f 356*b*	2069	A story connected with the peculiar habit of an ostrich of picking up pearls and precious stones. A Ṣábian accused by a jeweller of Baghdád of stealing a ruby which an ostrich had swallowed; on cutting open the animal, the ruby had lost in weight but gained in lustre [1]). The curious property of the shell of the ostrich's egg, which makes water boil on ice.
f 94*a*	"	2070	The eagle: its various kinds, the forest eagle, the dark-coloured mountain eagle and the white one, a vulture. The "*Ḥajaru'l-ʿUqáb*" or the stone of the eagle, found in India and its peculiar properties. (*Q. A. M.* p. 220).
f 94*b*	f 357*a*	2071	Other peculiarities of the eagle: its high flight in the skies, its brood and method of feeding them, its prey and its proverbial vigilance. (Cf. *Q. A. M.* pp. 418—9; *D. H. H.* pt. II, pp. 152—3).
"	"	2072	The vulture: its long life, its suspicious nature; and some of its medicinal properties.
f 95*a*	"	2073	The Humáy: the fabulous bird, whose shadow is supposed to bring good luck. An anecdote concerning the cause of the high estimation of Ayáz in the eyes of the Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna: when the other Turkish guards were running after the shadow of this bird, Ayáz was seeking the shadow of the King.
"	f 357*b*	2074	The Burṣul (?): A bird smaller than a pigeon and very fond of its own species, it lives on olives. A story of the old Greek Musician (see above,

[1]) This story is related in *J. K. H.*, pt. IV, pp. 146—7; cf. *Zapiski*, vol. VI, p. 337.

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				p. 98, n. 12) who made a musical instrument that whistled like the cry of a young Burṣul for food, in order to gather olives from the birds; his ascetic life, and the church which he erected and which these birds supplied with olives. The chapter ends with a hyperbolical comparison of the pen of the Wazír to a fabulous bird possessing extraordinary powers.
				Part IV, Chapter XXV = C: On Pieces of Humour and the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.
f 287*b*	f 537*b*	f 247*b*	2075	A short introduction illustrated with the wit of the Prophet. The Prophet Muḥammad jokingly offers one of his followers for sale.
"	f 538*a*	f 248*a*	2076	The Prophet perplexes a woman by saying in jest that her husband's eyes have turned white.
"	"	"	2077	The Prophet and his wife ʿÁ'isha equal in the race.
"	"	"	2078	The Prophet humorously asks Khawwát b. Jubayr al-Anṣárí what became of the runaway camel, alluding to a hoax, which Khawwát had played upon an oil-selling woman in pre-Islamic days.
"	"	f 248*b*	2079	The Prophet cracks a joke on one of his followers about the she-calf of a camel.
f 288*a*	"	"	2080	A Companion of the Prophet succeeds in putting him into good humour when he was angry.
"	"	"	2081	The Prophet enjoys for a year the practical joke of Nuʿayman on Suwaybiṭ, the Companion, whom Nuʿaymán sold by force for ten camels under the pretence that he was an unruly slave. (Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitábu'l-Maʿárif*, p. 167, where Nuʿaymán is the victim of Suwaybiṭ).
"	f 538*b*	f 249*a*	2082	Nuʿaymán, the jocular Companion of the Prophet, and the pot of honey.
"	"	"	2083	Another trick of Nuʿaymán on ʿUtba b. Ḥuṣayn al-Fazárí, by mischievously suggesting to him to fast in the night if he could not bear the heat in the day.
"	"	"	2084	How Nuʿaymán used to tease Ibn-i-Nawfal az-Zuhrí, the blind man. (Cf. Ibn Qut., *Maʿárif*, p. 168).
"	"	f 249*b*	2085	A joke of the wife of the Imám Aʿmash on her husband.
"	f 539*a*	"	2086	A joke of the Imám Aʿmash at the expense of his wife.
f 288*b*	"	"	2087	The Qáḏhí Shurayḥ befools the people of Hamadán. (Cf. *Ibn Khall.* Wüst. Biog. No. 289).
"	"	f 250*a*	2088	The Qáḏhhí Shurayḥ amused at the euphemistic expressions of a husband and wife who appealed to him for their individual rights.
"	"	"	2089	Husband and wife as litigants before a Qáḏhí, and their ribaldry.
"	"	"	2090	Husband and wife as litigants before an undignified Qáḏhí, and his scurrilous retort.
"	"	"	2091	Sharp retorts that passed between a Ṣúfí and a theologian on the question of free-will.

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f 288*b*	f 539*a*	f 250*b*	2092	The retort of a Náṣibí to a Shíʿite who maliciously alleged that ʿÁ'isha, the wife of the Prophet, was guilty of misconduct.
"	f 539*b*	"	2093	Jirabu'd-Dawla, [the Court Jester of the Buwayhids], and the amusing crier of the Prayer-Call, who used to take delight in hearing his own voice from a little distance, and therefore was in the habit of running away from his voice.
"	"	f 251*a*	2094	The ignorant leader of the prayer and his blunt remark about the Verse of فأمه هاويه
"	"	f 250*b*	2095	The blunt remark of a Bedouin in prayer while the Verse انا ارسلنا نوحا were being recited by the leader of the prayer.
"	"	"	2096	ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán, the Caliph, demands from Suwayd ten words denoting a part of the body and beginning with the letter *Káf*. Suwayd enumerates nine words الكل، الكف، الكعب، الكرع، الكرسوع، الكاهل، الكبد، الكليه، والكتف. The Caliph having objected to the tenth word الكرش as not being applicable to a man's stomach, Suwayd, after a little while recollects another word الكمره in its stead and begins to cry it out from the lavatory, even before adjusting his clothes.
"	"	"	2097	The joke of a person about his own birth-constellation: a pun on the words جدى and تيس.
f 289*a*	"	"	2098	The joke of a physician on one of his patients who complained of stomach-ache on account of eating burnt bread. The physician applies medicine to his eyes rather than give him anything to drink.
"	"	"	2099	Another joke of a physician of Samarqand on one of his patients who complained of headache.
"	"	f 251*a*	2100	Diatribe of a physician against the mother of a person who was suffering from inflammation of the throat, and a coarse allusion to his own wife's sexual organ.
"	"	"	2101	A jester, who posed as a Prophet, when arrested and brought before the King, acquits himself of the charge of blasphemy by a witty remark about the production of a melon in three days, whereas God himself made three months the period of its normal growth.
"	"	"	2102	The witty remark of an ugly person at the table of Ziyád about his own beautiful daughters at home.
"	"	"	2103	A lampoon on Ḥájjí Harwísh, nicknamed Kargas; a native of Níshápúr, by the poet Rafíqí (?).
"	f 540*a*	"	2104	The witty ʿAyán (?) or Bayán as a self-invited guest, and his apt quotation from the *Qur'án*, containing the ordinal number of the lozenges offered to him at table.
"	"	f 251*b*	2105	Ḥammád-i-Ḥamíd (?) and the Amír Shujáʿ of Fárs and the former's apt quotation from the *Qur'án*.
"	"	"	2106	The Caliph Hárún's envy the hand-writing of Ismáʿíl [b.] Ṣubayḥ, and the latter's clever allusion to the illiteracy of the Prophet being no disgrace to him.

B.	K.	M.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES
f 289*a*	f 540*a*	f 251*b*	2107	Rabí', the Chamberlain, put to shame by a youth of Banu Háshim in presence of the Caliph al-Manṣúr.
"	"	"	2108	The Qáḏhí Sharík turns the tables on the Caliph al-Mahdí who wanted to cause dissension between the Qaḏhí and his own uncle 'Ísá b. Músá.
"	"	"	2109	Yazíd b. Marthad pleases the Caliph Harun by a witty remark, when the Caliph was playing polo.
f 289*b*	f 540*b*	"	2110	Witty remarks of a soldier who was going out of garrison with a bow without arrows.
"	"	f 252*a*	2111	The Qáḏhí, being asked about a statement by 'Alí, baffles his interrogator by citing a verse from the *Qur'an*.
"	"	"	2112	A retort of Walíd b. Yazíd to Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, about buying a *dastár*.
"	"	"	2113	'Abbas b. Walíd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik and the crimson robe, and his retort to his uncle Maslama b. 'Abdu'l-Malik.
				The last or 100th chapter being defective in almost all the oldest Mss., three other Mss. are selected which contain a fairly reliable text of this chapter: **B.** = [Suppl. Persan 95]; **K.** = [Or. 236 Br. Mus.]; **M.** = [Add. 7672, Br. Mus.].
				The work ends with a splendid panegyric on the Wazír.

CHAPTER VII.

RE-CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE *JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT*

(pp. 263–270).

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RE-CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE *JAWÁMIʿU'L-ḤIKÁYÁT.*

The original plan of the author, of dividing the whole work into four parts and subdividing each into 25 chapters, is accurately indicated in the **Comparative Index of the 100 chapters**; but the difficulty arises in the arrangement of anecdotes, which in the original scheme of the author is very unsatisfactory. The author's only concern was, as appears from the general survey of the chapters, to illustrate each chapter with the anecdotes of various personalities, periods, subjects, which are more or less loosely connected with the chapter-heading. There are indications that the author himself realised the inconsistency of his own arrangement, although he has taken care to begin each chapter with a short introduction on the subject and close it with a panegyric, which serves as a garland for his patron. There being no definite aim to exhaust the available material on a chosen subject or to illustrate its various aspects systematically, but only to incorporate detached accounts and stray anecdotes in this encyclopaedic collection, the need for a systematic re-classification arises.

In the accompanying index an attempt is made to indicate briefly the actual nature of the anecdotes analysed in the complete *Table of Contents*, to bring together anecdotes illustrating a particular subject, and to afford an opportunity of surveying the existing material on a particular subject, scattered over the 2113 units of this collection. This re-classification is a horizontal division as compared with that of the author, and will perhaps serve as a tentative historical, though not chronologically arranged, subject-index to the whole work. The contents of the hundred chapters are comprised in ten main categories, which are further divided into tangible units. The first six categories precisely indicate the historical material which is classified and elucidated. The seventh category is very general, and as most of the anecdotes in the section of Ethics are historical, they are recorded in their proper places in sections V and VI. The remaining categories show at a glance the principal topics of discussion and the number of anecdotes relating to each topic.

In the words of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, the present writer "has made a systematic analysis and classification of the contents of the above book (*Jawámiʿu'l-Ḥikáyát*), thus enabling students for the first time not only to see exactly what is there, but also readily to find any subject in which they may be interested".

RE-CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE *JAWÁMIʿU'L-ḤIKÁYÁT*.

I. Legendary and semi-historical accounts.

1. Ancient Persian Kings, according to the National Epic. Pt. I, ch. iv.
   - *a.* The Pishdádiyán: Gayúmarth to Ṭahmásp, anecs. 119—135.
   - *b.* The Kayániyán: Kay-Qubád to Dárá, son of Dáráb, 136—152.
   - *c.* The Ashkániyán (or Parthians): Greek Invasion under Alexander to the overthrow of the Parthians, 153—156.
   - *d.* The Sásaniyan: Ardashír-i-Bábakán to Yazdigird III, 157—193. (i. e. 226 A. D.—652 A.D.). Mostly based on ath-Thaʿálibí's *Ghurar-wa-Siyar*.
2. Ancient Kings of Rúm: Pt. I, iv. 194 and 195.

II. Traditional and historical accounts.

Pre-Islamic conditions, the Ancient Prophets, and the Prophet. Pt. I, chs. i and ii, anecs. 1—78. Early Muslim Conquests. Pt. I, ch. xii. 647—674.

(Chiefly based on the Holy Tradition and the Accounts of the Wars).

III. History.

2. The Caliphs. Pt. I, ch. v.
   - *a.* Orthodox Caliphs: 632—661 A. D. anecs. 196—234.
   - *b.* Umayyads: 661—750 A. D. anecs, 235—280.
   - *c.* ʿAbbásids (36 only): 750—1242 A. D. anecs. 281—362.

   (Accounts of the Caliphs based on aṭ-Ṭabarí's History; two memoriae technicae: (1) of the 36 ʿAbbásids from as-Saffáḥ to al-Mustanṣir, by the author, (2) of the 9 Sámánids by the poet ʿUnṣurí; at the end of this chapter a contemporary account of the Caliphs and their relations with the rulers of India, *e. g.*, Iltutmish).

IV. Accounts of special families and dynasties.

1. The Barmecides. 752—804 A. D.

   There are nearly 43 anecdotes of the Barmecides, from the first accredited appearance of Barmak in the court of ʿAbdu'l-Malik to the last order of Hárún for the extermination of the Barmecides; but these are spread over the hundred chapters.

   Pt. I, anecs. 295; 301; 302; 303; 304; 422; 495; 506; 566; 570; 571; 606; 743; 763; 770; 783; 784; 785; 1021; 1044; 1094; 1159.
   Pt. II, anecs. 1291; 1341; 1347; 1411; 1420; 1503; 1535.
   Pt. III, anecs. 1559; 1615; 1616; 1651; 1694; 1727; 1757; 1781.
   Pt. IV, anecs. 1799; 1811; 1843; 1902; 1917; 2003.
2. The Ṭáhirids. 820—872 A. D.

   There are nearly 34 anecdotes.

   Pt. I, anecs. 312; 412; 413; 434; 441; 463; 620; 640; 709; 881; 927; 987; 1007; 1097.
   Pt. II, anecs. 1288; 1346; 1385; 1387; 1417; 1428, 1435; 1436; 1437; 1443; 1515.
   Pt. III, anecs. 1613; 1614; 1667; 1713.
   Pt. IV, anecs. 1810; 1845; 1852; 1856; 1887.
3. The Ṣaffárids. 868—903 A. D.

   There are nearly 37 anecdotes.

   Pt. I, anecs. 99; 331; 517; 561; 562; 630; 631; 633; 699; 700; 701; 710; 711; 712; 713; 714; 715; 716; 717; 718; 719; 720; 721; 1103,
   Pt. II, anecs. 1281; 1283; 1434; 1448; 1452.
   Pt. III, anecs. 1566; 1629; 1652; 1654; 1655; 1677; 1687; 1716.
   Pt. IV, Nil.

4. The Samanids. 874—999 A. D.
   There are nearly 29 anecdotes.
   Pt. I, anecs. 348; 383; 425; 430; 442; 500, 550, 559; 610; 621; 630; 787, 905, 917, 1004.
   Pt. II, anecs. 1195; 1305; 1313; 1342; 1426; 1434; 1447; 1450; 1534.
   Pt. III, anecs. 1544; 1554; 1658; 1677; 1716.
   Pt. IV. Nil.
5. The Ziyarids. 928—1042 A. D.
   There are only 6 anecdotes.
   Pt. I, anecs. 635; 695; 736; 741.
   Pt. II, anec. 1423.
   Pt. III, anec. 1617.
   Pt. IV. Nil.
6. The Ílak Kháns of Máwará'u'n-Nahr (who ruled in Samarqand).
   There are about 15 anecdotes.
   Pt. I, anecs. 391; 443; 508; 509; 551; 552; 962; 998; 1137; 1138.
   Pt. II, anec. 1539.
   Pt. III, anec. 1649.
   Pt. IV, anecs. 1973; 1974; 2008.
   (These are of great value, because the history of these Kháns is very meagrely recorded, and even their chronology is very uncertain. Some of these anecdotes have been utilised by Prof. W. Barthold in his "*Turkistan*"). See above, p. 31.
7. The Buwayhids. 932—1055 A. D.
   There are nearly 22 anecdotes.
   Pt. I, anecs. 344; 345; 346; 347, 382; 499; 675; 736; 737; 738; 740; 741; 787; 1027; 1028; 1029; 1039; 1040.
   Pt. II, anecs. 1299; 1379.
   Pt. III, anec. 1745.
   Pt. IV, anec. 1918.
   (A. f 115*b*, Pt. I, ch. v, anec. 345 is taken from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Táji*).
   (A. f 196*a*, Pt. I, ch. xiv, anec. 787 is important, as it shows the early relations of the Sámánids with the Buwayhids and brings in important personalities like the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád and Abu'l-Ḥasan b. ʿÍsá, the famous Wazírs of both the dynasties).
8. The Ghaznawids. 962—1186 A. D.
   There are nearly 81 anecdotes about this dynasty. Some of them are taken from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Náṣirí* of Abu'l-Faḏhl al-Bayhaqí, relating to the latter portion of the work, which is supposed to be lost; while others are borrowed from the *Yamíní* of al-ʿUtbí. Another work, the *Dastúru'l-Wuzará'*, is also mentioned as a source. The history of this dynasty is well represented in the *Jawámiʿ* as is evident from the number of anecdotes.
   Pt. I, anecs. 349; 353; 385; 388; 398; 405; 406; 407; 409; 415; 419; 493; 494; 520; 522; 544; 549, 611; 612; 622; 627; 629; 632; 634; 639; 702; 704; 729; 730; 732; 733; 759; 782; 799; 895; 912; 982; 996; 997; 998; 1016; 1017; 1066; 1069; 1070; 1072; 1124; 1125; 1172; 1175; 1176.
   Pt. II, anecs. 1200; 1230; 1286; 1289; 1319; 1325; 1327; 1344; 1418; 1421; 1441; 1472; 1488; 1525; 1526; 1536; 1539.
   Pt. III, anecs. 1648; 1675; 1684; 1696; 1706; 1719; 1728; 1735; 1745.
   Pt. IV, anecs. 1802; 1996; 2002; 2073.
9. The Great Saljúqs. 1037—1157 A. D.
   There are nearly 23 anecdotes, but the sources are not acknowledged. Some of these

can profitably be added to the information already existing about this dynasty in the accounts of al-Bundárí, ar-Ráwandí and the Niẓámu'l-Mulk respectively.

Pt. I, anecs. 350; 352; 354; 393; 396; 521; 558; 744; 745; 746; 759; 775; 954; 991; 1003; 1018; 1019.

Pt. II, anecs. 1204; 1364; 1427; 1538.

Pt. III, anec. 1626;

Pt. IV, anec. 1944.

10. The Atábaks. 489; 908.
11. The Sháhs of Khwárazm: Pt. I, 553; 554; 555; 727; 728; Pt. IV, 1792.
12. The Ghúrids. Pt. I, 360; 400; 492; 726; 727; 728; 729.

(Nos. 10, 11, 12 in this division are not properly represented, and of the very few anecdotes which illustrate the history of these dynasties some are not easily identifiable. No. 10 concerning the Atábaks contains only two anecdotes. One of these (I, ix, 489) relates to Atábak-i-Zangí, but it is not clear whether 'Imádu'd-Dín Zangí of Aleppo is meant or Núru'd-Dín Zangí of Syria or 'Imádu'd-Dín Zangí of Sinjár; and the other is that of Atábak Dakla (?). In No. 11 there are only six anecdotes: Pt. I, 553—555 about Tukush b. Íl Arslán Khwárazmsháh, one of which (555) is also given in the *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 40—1; and 727 and 728 about 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. No. 12 consists of the earliest accounts of the rulers of Ghúr, *e.g.* Mu'izzu'd-Dín, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Sám, the Ghúrid brothers.

13. The Sultans of Dihlí. Pt. I, 362; 490; 492.

There are very few anecdotes of contemporary interest. al-'Awfí could have given us valuable information on his own period, but he is silent. One anecdote of Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak (602—607 A. D.) Pt. I, ch. ix, 490, and two or three anecdotes of Iltutmish are recorded incidentally, *e.g.*, Pt. III, ch. xviii, Anecs. 1720, 1729.

14. Tales of Indian origin, about various Hindú rulers.

Pt. I, anecs. 175; 176; 366; 373; 374; 376; 380; 397; 628; 629; 693: 731; 753; 779; 1025.

V. Accounts of religious persons.

1. Saints.

There is a considerable number of anecdotes concerning the lives and sayings and exhortations of various holy men.

Pt. I, ch. iii, anecs. 79—118 are entirely devoted to biographical sketches of the Ṣúfís.

Pt. I, ch. xv, anecs. 788—837 are also noteworthy as giving memorable aphorisms and detached accounts of pious persons.

Besides these, many others are spread over the vast range of chapters.

2. Theologians and Judges.

A considerable number of such anecdotes is found throughout the entire work.

Pt. I, chs. xi, xv, xvi are worthy of mention. The last chapter, specially devoted to the Qáḏhís, contains 66 anecs., concerning the Imám Abú Ḥanífa, the Imám Abú Yúsuf, the Imám Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, and the Imám Sháfi'í, all Sunní theologians.

3. Heresiarchs and pseudo-prophets.

There are about 15 anecdotes.

Pt. III, ch. viii, anecs. 1619—1627 are entirely devoted to the accounts of the great heresiarchs.

VI. Accounts of Secular and other Eminent Persons.

1. Kings and rulers of various countries.

Pt. I, chs. vi, vii, viii, ix, x, anecs. 363—564 are chiefly devoted to the civil, judicial, executive and legislative methods of these rulers.

Pt. II, chs. iii and iv, also reveal partially the methods of government employed by various princes.

Pt. IV, chs. i and ii are also important for ascertaing the position of state officials under absolute rulers. Most chapters exhibit the peculiar traits of various rulers and illustrate to some extent the history of the political institutions that existed in the East, from the days of Núshírwán, the Just, to the last of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs, in various Islamic states and under various Muḥammadan dynasties. All historical accounts are recorded in section IV.

2. Wazírs.

Pt. I, ch. xiv, anecs. 736—787 contain 52 anecdotes of the ministers of different countries, with copious illustrations of their statesmanship, and of the chief political events that happened during their administration. The range of this chapter also is very wide. It includes Buzurjmihr, the Barmecides, and their successors in the office of ministership under the early ʿAbbásids, and gives an account that of other famous Wazírs like the Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád, the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, and Abu'l-Faḏḥl Balʿamí.

Besides this special chapter, there are many other anecdotes in Pt. IV, chs. vi and vii, that are interesting, as they depict the dramatic changes of ministry in the latter period of the decline of the ʿAbbásid Caliphate.

3. Secretaries.

Pt. I, ch. xviii, anecs. 987—1023 are important. They contain several important historical documents written by famous secretaries, *e.g.* Abu'l-Qásim Iskáf and Muʿínu'd-Dín al-Aṣamm. Besides these there are other accounts of important secretaries and state-officials in pt. II, ch. xxv.

4. Favourites and boon-companions.

Pt. I, ch. xix, anecs. 1024—1040 are specially devoted to the accounts of agreeable companions on occasions of conviviality. The Ṣáḥib Ismáʿíl b. ʿAbbád's remark on wine is recorded, and accounts are given of Ibráhím b. Mahdí, Ḥasan-i-Ḏḥaḥḥák, Isḥáq-i-Mawṣilí, Abú Dulaf Khazrají, and Ḥammádu'r-Ráwiya.

5. Physicians.

Pt. I, ch. xx, anecs. 1041—1055 are devoted to wonderful cures of strange diseases. Accounts of Hippocrates, Rhazes, Qaṭíʿ, Aristotle, Minúbal, Sarnáb or Sarbát and Mání-i-Muwaswas are given. Most of these are taken from at-Tanúkhí's *al-Faraj*, and have been discussed by Browne in his excellent *Arabian Medicine*.

6. Poets.

Pt. I, ch. xxiii, 1107—1125 contain short accounts of the extempore verses composed by the following poets on one occasion or another: Marwán b. Ḥafṣa, Ḥasan Ḏḥaḥḥák, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, Abu'l-ʿAtáhiya, Ṭurayḥ b. Ismáʿíl aṯh-Ṯhaqafí, Abú Tammám, Abu'sh-Shamaqmaq, Badíʿuz-Zamán Hamadhání, Maʿrúf of Balkh, al-Akhṭal, Ibnu'r-Rúmí, al-Aʿshá, Ru'ba and Farrukhí. (There are a few other anecdotes about poets like Diʿbil of Khuzáʿa and others in different places and in a different connection.)

7. Astrologers.

Pt. I, ch. xxii, 1090—1106.

Predictions of Faḏḥl b. Sahl the Wazír, Abú Maʿshar (al-Balkhí), Mání-i-Muwaswas, and Saʿdu'z-Zamán (?) are recorded.

8. Oneiromancers.

Pt. I, ch. xxi, 1056—1089.

Interpretations of Ibn-i-Sírín, Buzurjmihr, Yaʿqúb Kisá'í and Bayánu'l-Ḥaqq on the dreams of different persons.

9. Clairvoyants and shrewd persons.
   Pt. I, ch. xi, 565—612.
   Illustrations of the sagacity and foresight of various classes of people are mentioned in this and other chapters. Among the theologians Imám Sháfi'í, the Qádhís Iyás, Shurayḥ and Sharík, and among the philosophers Polemon are worthy of note.
10. Wise persons.
   Pt. I, chs. xv, xvi, xxv contain accounts and sayings of various sages and eminent personalities.
11. Artful persons.
   Pt. I, ch. xiii, 676—735.
   Wiles and strategems of various rulers and generals, *e.g.* 'Amr b. al-'Áṣ, Ya'qúb b. Layth, Sa'd b. Abí Waqqáṣ, Qutayba b. Muslim and Mu'áwiya.
12. Witty and humourous persons.
   Pt. I, ch. viii, 444—482 contain pithy sayings of the rulers.
   Pt. IV, ch. xxv, 2075—2113 contain humorous pieces and anecdotes of the litigants before Qádhís in public courts.
13. Women.
   Pt. III, chs. xxii—xxv, 1742—1789.
   Account of various types of women: clever, pious, unchaste and artful.

VII. Ethics.
   Pts. I and II deal with Virtues and Vices, illustrated from the accounts of historical personages. There is no systematic study of ethics. Under each virtue or vice incidents of various rulers and eminent persons are collected. All such historical anecdotes are arranged in section IV of this Re-classification.

VIII. Encounters and exciting occurrences.
   Pt. IV, chs. iii—xiii, anecs. 1809—1934. These anecdotes of "Relief after Distress" are taken from at-Tanúkhí's *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, and have been completely analysed in the *Table of Contents* and elsewhere. Other historical material connected with the eminent personalities is arranged in section IV.

IX. Geography and the Wonders of the World. Pt. IV, chs. xvi—xviii.
   1. A sketch of the Seven "Climes" and "Routes". (Anecs. 1963—1964).
   2. A description of China. (Anec. 1965).
   3. On the various Turkmán tribes. (Anecs. 1966—1967).
   4. An account of old Byzantine civilization. (Anec. 1968).
   5. An account of the Arabian Peninsula. (Anec. 1969).
   6. A short account of India. (Anec. 1971).
   7. An account of the Abyssinians. (Anecs. 1972—1975).
   8. An account of the inhabitants of the Jazá'ir or the Isles on the Caspian Sea. (Anec. 1976).
   9. Monuments and remarkable buildings. Antiquities. (Anecs. 1977—1986).

X. Physical properties of objects, Natural History and other Curious Phenomena. Pt. IV, chs. xiv, xv, xix—xxiii.
   1. Curious properties of stones and other natural objects. IV, xx, anecs. 1996—2008.
   2. The long-lived persons. IV, xv, anecs. 1945—1962.
   3. Human Monstrosities. IV, xiv, anecs. 1935—1944.
   4. Temperament of Animals and their curious effects. IV, xxi—xxiv, anecs. 2009—2066.
   5. Curious birds and their peculiarities. IV, xxiv, anecs. 2067—2074.
   6. Talismans. IV, xix, anecs. 1987—1995.

CHAPTER VIII.

A COMPLETE *ALPHABETICAL LIST* OF ALL THE WORKS MENTIONED IN THE *JAWĀMI'U'L-ḤIKĀYĀT*.

(pp. 271—276).

فهرست الکتب

اسماء الکتب	See the Table of Content Anecdote Serial Nos	See the Conspectus No
۱ آئس الملوك	402	16.
۲ احیاء العلوم الغزالی	1126.	2 a.
۳ اخبار آل لیث	1655	11
٤ اخبار برامکه	1291, 1341 1694	3
٥ اداب العرب	7	4 a.
٦ اعراض الریاسه فی اعراض السیاسه	163.	6
۷ انجیل (مانی)	1622	7 a.
۸ بختیار نامه	1935	
۹ بوی نار or بوی نار (sic) لخراب الدوله ابو العباس احمد بن محمد علوه السجستانی	1783	25 b.
۱۰ تاریخ اسکندر رومی (?) or اخبار اسکندر (?)	1524; 1064.	
۱۱ تاریخ اکاسره (?)	1543	16.
۱۲ تاریخ امیر اسمٰعیل (و) نصر بن احمد سامانی (?)	500.	
۱۳ تاریخ بغداد	1888.	8.
١٤ تاریخ بنی مروان (?)	1995.	
۱٥ تاریخ تاجی	345	9
۱٦ تاریخ (ملوك) ترکستان لمجدالدین عدنان السرحکتی	1974.	10
۱۷ تاریخ خراسان	1652, 1707.	11
۱۸ تاریخ خلفاء بنی العباس، تاریخ آل عباس، تاریخ دولت عباسیان	697, 1464, 1475, 1486, 1559, 1682, 1895, 1914, 1986	12
۱۹ تاریخ خوارزمیان (?)	G. f257a. III. xi. 1652.	11.
۲۰ تاریخ دیالمه	1940	9
۲۱ تاریخ طاهریان	1417, 1428.	11
۲۲ تاریخ (محمد بن جریر) الطبری	(*mentioned 20 times*).	13.
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